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Price, 10 Yen.

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Half price to members.

Yokohama, Shanghai, Hongkong : KELLY & WALSH, L'd.

Tokyo : Z. P. MARUYA Co., L'd.

London : KEGAN PAUL, TRUEBNER & Co., L'd.

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The Publications Committee has in hand and hopes to publish during the current year *The Life of Takano Choel*, translated and edited by the Rev. D. C. Greene, D. D.; the concluding sections of *The Tokugawa Laws*, translated by J. C. Hall, C. M. G.; and a monograph entitled *The Great Shrine of Idzumo*, by W. L. Schwartz, B. A.

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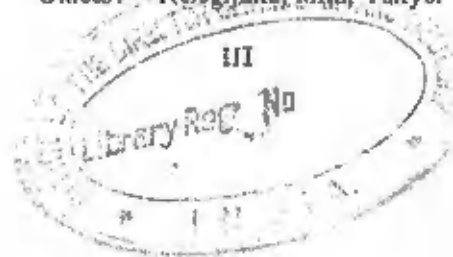
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TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY
OF
JAPAN.

FOUNDED 1872.

VOL. XLI.—PART I.

1913.

26048

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

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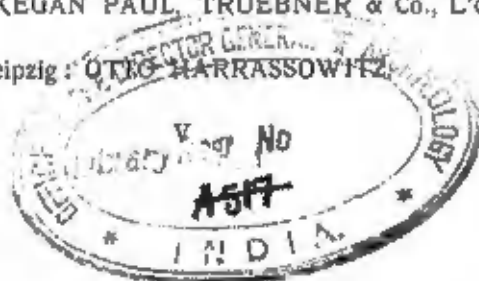
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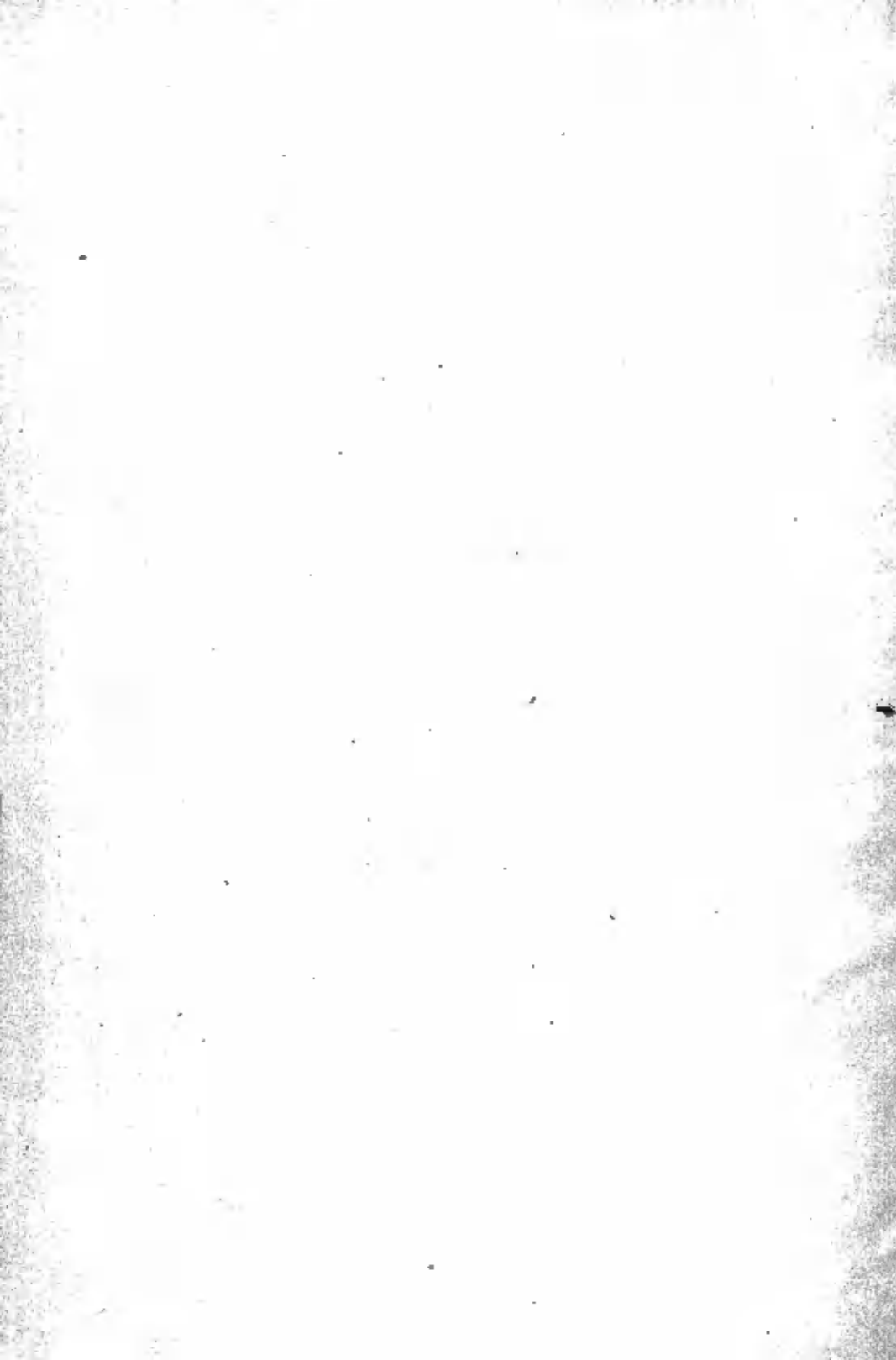
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JAPANESE MODERN LITERATURE

By WALTER DENING.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

A study of modern Japan stretching over thirty-five years has convinced me that much of her progress is to be traced to literary sources. Her leading writers were the first pioneers of liberty, constitutional government, individual rights, and the equality of all men in the eyes of the law. The Japanese language has recently had its capabilities tested in a very severe manner. Used for over a thousand years almost exclusively as a medium for expressing Chinese thought, it has during the past forty-five years been called on to fulfil an entirely new function, namely, the transference of thought from languages with which it has no affinity. Linguistic experts have repeatedly expressed themselves as astonished at the facility with which the feat has been accomplished. But it must not be overlooked that much of the success achieved in this line is to be attributed to the marvellous capabilities of the Chinese ideographs, which have been so much used by the Japanese and without which the language would certainly have proved quite inadequate to meet the demands made on it at the present time. Japanese writers have put the Chinese ideographs to new uses. They have manufactured by means of fresh combinations hundreds of technical terms which in brevity, perspicuity, and definiteness surpass

* Most of the matter contained in this paper appeared in the columns of the *Japan Chronicle* in 1910 and 1911, and my thanks are due to Mr. Robert Young, the editor of that Journal, for permission to reproduce it here. W.D.

those found in any other language. It is inconceivable that Western thought could ever have made the rapid progress which it has had the medium for conveying it to the minds of the Japanese people been in a less perfect state. Centuries of civilisation, wholesale importation of Chinese thought and Chinese ways of stating it, high literary culture, and many other influences, combined to qualify the Japanese tongue for the work it accomplished in the Meiji era.

The history of Japanese modern literature is a history of the various stages through which Japan has passed in her onward march. It is a history of conflict between the old and the new. It is a history of extensive experiments, many of which have by no means been concluded. That the fittest will survive nobody doubts, but exactly what that fittest will be it is too early to determine. An entirely new nation is being formed out of old material. In this paper I propose to indicate the nature of the various forces at work, to point out what ideas are most popular among thoughtful people, to briefly state the principles and the views to which the nation is settling down.

The past forty years may be roughly divided into three periods, according to the prevailing tendency of thought which marked them. (1) There was the Occidentalizing Period, beginning in 1870 and lasting for some fifteen years. During that time the nation went fairly crazy over Western customs, Western thought and Western modes of life. (2) Then followed a Period of Reaction, lasting some ten years, when the tide set strong towards ultra-nationalism. Great alarm was then felt at the radical nature of the changes taking place and at their undue suddenness. It was maintained that the proper course for Japan to follow was to imitate Western nations only as far as was necessary for material development. In moral standards, in religion, in refinement, in modes of life, in taste and etiquette she had nothing to learn from Europeans or Americans. Christianity felt the effect of this nationalistic movement, as has been pointed out by Christians of all sects. (3) Many young men who had become permeated with Western thought interpreted the reactionary movement as an indication that the nation was

contemplating a return to its old ways, and so they determined to try what the proclamation of a new gospel would do. The gospel preached was the Individualism of Nietzsche, and the late Dr. Takayama, a prolific and polished writer and an irrepressible controversialist, was the chief apostle of the new faith. Among young men he had many followers in all parts of the country, but the general feeling was that the principle on which Dr. Takayama set so much value, if admitted, would certainly cause the total annihilation of the patriarchy which is regarded as essential to the stability of the State.

The writings of philosophers have doubtless greatly influenced the progress of thought during the period under review. The Tōkyō Imperial University during the first thirty years of the Meiji era was the centre of philosophy. The early teachers there were followers of Darwin, Spencer, and Mill. The late Professor Toyama, a man of powerful personality and a great orator, in conjunction with the late Mr. Fenollosa, expounded the synthetic philosophy in a most attractive manner, and it looked then as though English thought would dominate the minds of most of the graduates of the University. But this was not to be. A variety of influences and several prominent men, including Drs. Katō (Hiroyuki) and Inoue (Tetsujirō) and Professor J. Busse, combined to place German philosophy in that position of pre-eminence which it still holds. In recent years philosophy of the English and American type has been earnestly taught by a number of able men at two great private Universities—the Waseda (founded by Count Ōkuma) and the Keiōgijiku (founded by Fukuzawa). These two institutions have produced a number of brilliant writers, earnest politicians, and eloquent speakers, whose influence on current literature has been very great. One of the most talented essayists of modern times, the author of the *Taiyō* "Character Sketches," the late Mr. Toyabe Shuntei, was trained at Waseda. The greatest authority living on the Japanese drama, Dr. S. Teubouchi, is also a Waseda man. If the Keiōgijiku has not furnished the country with as many scholars as Count Ōkuma's University, it has trained hundreds of first-class business men, who have left the institution imbued with the

spirit of independence, self-respect, and straightforwardness to which so much importance is attached in what is known as the *Mita System of Ethics*. In connection with the three above-named Universities it must be borne in mind that each of them is a literary centre, that each has its literary organs, and that some of the most learned and powerful articles which appear in the leading magazines of the country are from the pens of professors at one or other of these institutions. Despite the fact that the Imperial Universities are regarded by Japanese publicists as great official factories, and that learning there is by no means independent, these institutions have never lacked men like the late Dr. Toyama, Professor Tomizu, and others, who have, when in their opinion occasion called for it, attacked Government policy in the most vigorous manner.

The time has hardly arrived for the appearance of a history of Japan that will bear comparison with modern standard histories of the more advanced Western countries. Historical criticism has had, and to a considerable extent still has, obstacles to contend with that are not encountered in the case of other subjects of investigation. How long the restrictions that check free criticism will remain in force it is hard to say. The greatest modern authority on Japanese history is Dr. Shigeno Aneki. He superintended the compilation of the "*Kokushigan*," a standard work published by the Tōkyō Imperial University in 1890, and used in many Government schools. A gradual sifting of material has been going on, and dissatisfaction with the stilted and dry records of antiquity has led to the production of books whose publication marks an era of progress. A work like Mr. Mozume's "*History of Civilisation*" (in Japan) published by the Imperial Household Department, resembles to some extent our deservedly popular Green's "*History of the English People*." The official records of past generations were so often cooked so as to show to advantage the antecedents of the statesmen in power that implicit reliance cannot be placed on them.

Dictionaries, grammars, phrase-books, learned treatises on style, linguistic development, and the like, have been pouring

out of the press during the past ten years. But to enumerate them or to discuss them here even in a general way is quite impossible. To Europeans, perhaps, the most interesting question has at all times been—will the Japanese as a nation discard the ideographs in favour of some simple system of orthography? The answer is that public opinion in Japan is not moving in this direction to any great extent. Japanese scholars cling to the Chinese characters more and more, and in many ways display an entire inability to carry on complicated trains of thought apart from these idea-expressing media. Spoken language in Japan does not wield half the power of written language. Listeners give ear carelessly, and most speakers are habitually slipshod in the way they express themselves. So much is this the case that the late Mr. Fukuchi Genichirō, one of the greatest authorities on modern Japanese, and one of the most brilliant journalists Japan has produced, in an article published eight years ago, described his fellow-countrymen as both "earless and tongueless." Attempts have been made to amalgamate the written and the spoken languages, but they have only been partially successful. The nation worships its script and regards colloquial speech as occupying an entirely lower level than the rounded classical Chinese sentences which impressively roll out one after another when grave ceremonies are held. The process of lowering the written language to the level of the colloquial, however, is certainly going on to a certain extent. The language of the principal magazines and the leading newspapers is far nearer the colloquial to-day than it was ten years ago, and the fashion of inserting colloquial phrases in learned articles is now followed by a large number of eminent writers. The styles of Drs. Katō and Inoue (Tetsujirō) are semi-colloquial, and that of Dr. Inoue Enryō is almost wholly colloquial. But while this is so, there is a general feeling throughout the country that there is a lack of dignity about the styles adopted by newspapers, magazines, and popular novels, and that such writing should never be allowed to rank as first-class literary composition and should never be resorted to on ceremonial occasions. This sentiment will die hard, if it ever dies. Japanese feel the same veneration for the stately

phrases of Imperial Rescripts and formal written addresses penned by their finest scholars as our forefathers felt for Latin addresses and invocations centuries ago. There is much to be said in favour of retaining for use at grave functions a style of writing that is at once concise, poetical, and impressive. But the opinion of linguistic experts is that in every other style of composition the process of simplification, which has already made considerable progress, will be carried as far as the genius of the written language allows.

The principal schools of fiction are :—(1) The Realists, led by the late Ozaki Kōyō ; (2) The Idealists, led by Kōda Rohan ; (3) The Romanticists, whose stories follow German models ; (4) the Naturalists, led by Masamune Hakuchō and Tayama Kwatai and critically defended by Hasegawa Tenzui and Shimamura Hōgetsu. Quite recently what is known as the purpose novel (*Yūmokuteki Shōsetsu*) has begun to be compiled by such writers as Kinoshita and Miyazaki. Original detective stories do not seem to exist in Japan, though there are translations of foreign works of this class. As writers of short stories the late Kunikida Doppo, and the late Misa Higuchi, who died at the early age of twenty-four, are said to have no equals. A very large number of our best English novels have been translated into Japanese and sell well. Then there is what is known as the Futabatei School of writers, who, in imitation of certain Russian novelists, make a specialty of psychological analysis.

Much has been written on the drama, principally by men whose sympathies are with the *Shinpa Haiyū*, or New School of Actors. Among play-writers Dr. Tsubouchi and Messrs. Yamazaki and Sano are the best known. The musical part of stage performances is in a very pitiable condition. Foreign music is out of keeping with Japanese stage-acting as it is carried on to-day, and there is no attempt made to improve the Japanese music to be heard in theatres. Huge theatres are being erected in both Tōkyō and Ōsaka and a new style of acting is coming into fashion; but the opinion of leading writers on this subject is that the transition from the old to the new will require time and that it is questionable whether the public mind is ready for more radical

changes than those now taking place.

More than thirty years ago Sir E. M. Satow wrote :—" In poetry the Japanese do not seem to have advanced much beyond the most elementary forms." Into the peculiarities of Japanese poetry I can not go here. Those specially interested in this subject will probably find in the *Anthologie Japonaise* of Leon de Rosny (Paris, 1870,) all that they wish to know. The *naga-uta*, literally "long poems," though they would be deemed short in other literatures, which figure so prominently in Japanese ancient records, have during the past few decades given place to those tiny odes known as *tanka*, which consist of thirty-one syllables only. The range of subjects treated by the composers of *tanka* is very limited, consisting mostly of the outward aspects of nature, love, and the shortness of human life. The rule is to exclude Chinese words from these odes, and since more than half the words in the language and nearly all those denoting abstractions and delicate shades of meaning are of Chinese origin, this necessarily places a narrow limit on both thought and expression. While conservative readers prefer the *tanka*, or the *haikai* or *hokku*, a still shorter poem consisting only of seventeen syllables, many young men with strong Occidental leanings eagerly read what are known as *Shintaishi* (New Style Poems). This School of poetry was founded in 1872 by Drs. Toyama, Inoue and Yatabe, who published a number of translations of English poems under the title *Shintaishi Shō* (an Anthology of New Style Poems) and some original blank verse poems under various titles. For a while a warm controversy was carried on in literary circles on the merits and demerits of the new poems, but they have evidently come to stay. Among the living composers of these poems there is perhaps no name better known than that of Mr. Tsuchii Bansui, who finds no great difficulty in giving to his fellow-countrymen the most sublime thoughts of the "Paradise Lost" by means of this new style of poetry. Many of Shakespeare's plays have been translated into Japanese by various *Shintaishi* composers.

A large number of magazines discuss legal questions exclusively. International law receives an increasing amount of

attention. On this subject Dr. N. Ariga is perhaps one of the greatest authorities. He has a literary organ of his own (the *Greatō Jishō*) in which diplomatic questions are fully treated in their bearing on this country. As regards politics, most of the magazines and all the newspapers devote much of their space to the publication of articles on the subject. During the twenty-seven years that it was edited by the late Dr. Taguchi, the *Keizai Zasshi* was the most extensively read magazine on economics, despite the fact that Dr. Taguchi was an ardent free-trader all his life. Business literature has made wonderful strides within the past ten years. The best business magazines invariably devote much attention to economic conditions in foreign countries and supply elaborate tables showing the progress of commerce and industry in Western States, the design being to indicate how far behind Europe and America Japan still is.

Between the years 1878 and 1904, the number of works issued from the press steadily increased. At first translations were far more numerous than original works, but in recent years the number of translations published has been steadily decreasing. The philosophic works of Doctors Katō and Inoue, the novels of Kōda Rohan and Natsume Sōseki, the histories of education compiled by Dr. Hagi and Mr. Sawayanagi, the critical essays of Dr. Tsubouchi, dealing with Japanese fiction and Japanese stage-acting, the "History of the Literature of the Meiji Era" written by Mr. Iwaki Juntarō, and numerous other books, in style, arrangement, and subject matter, are worthy to take rank with our first-class English works.

The hope of making their literature known to the great outside world by the abandonment of symbols which take a lifetime to acquire thoroughly seems not to be entertained by the Japanese nation. Their ever-growing intimacy with China renders radical orthographic reform more and more difficult. The ideographs serve as a powerful medium of inter-communication to a third of the human race speaking a variety of languages and living inside and outside of the Middle Kingdom. This consideration may give the final victory to pictures over sounds throughout the Far Eastern World.

To give in this paper anything like a full account of Japanese modern literature is quite impossible. What I propose to do is to quote the opinions of the best Japanese writers on a number of different subjects. Having spent many years in the study of Japanese modern literature, I have necessarily reached certain definite conclusions on numerous topics connected therewith, but I have no desire to occupy space in this essay with my own personal opinions on this subject or that. The best and only thoroughly reliable authorities on Japanese thought are the Japanese themselves. In this paper I shall quote from experts only. I do not intend to furnish long lists of the books that have appeared during the past forty years, though I shall cite much from articles written by the authors or compilers of some of the best works to be found in Japan's libraries. The history of Japanese modern literature is a history of the progress of thought and of all the conflict that is bound to take place when a nation is engaged in changing its ideals, in re-valuing all its commodities, in adjusting itself to new conditions. The life of the nation is reflected in its literature. If I can do nothing else, I think I can succeed in making it quite plain to readers of this paper what is the tendency of thought and what is the general situation among rival schools of thought in modern Japan. I shall make a point of showing how numerous are the difficulties in the way of certain reforms owing to long-established habits that cannot be broken through. It is not unlikely that the picture I shall give of modern Japan will be very unlike that drawn by optimistic globe-trotters or by writers who give the reins to their imagination when describing things Japanese. Poetical and beautiful as was the writing of the late Lafcadio Hearn, what he actually said was not based on a study of Japanese literature; hence much of its recognised unreliability as a representation of the real Japanese mind as it exists to-day. This can only be revealed by allowing the Japanese to speak for themselves in our tongue on all the subjects in which we are specially interested, on their language, their education, their art, their drama, their poetry, their politics, their physical and mental peculiarities, their morality and their religion and on other topics. This paper aims at giving Japanese

thought in a condensed form on subjects of considerable interest to the whole civilised world. It will be unnecessary for me to do more than introduce each writer or group of writers by a few general remarks on the subjects treated. Since the written and the spoken languages are the media used by the Japanese for the importation of Western thought, and since in the future of the Japanese tongue so many important questions are involved, I shall begin by quoting from acknowledged authorities on this subject.

CHAPTER II.

THE JAPANESE LANGUAGE & ORTHOGRAPHIC REFORM.

The Japanese have two languages in constant use, their own ancient tongue known as *Yamato-kotoba*, and the whole of the Chinese language known as *Kango*. This swells the vocabulary of words in colloquial use among educated Japanese and in the literature of the day to an extent that has no parallel anywhere in the world, and renders anything like a scholarly knowledge of both the script and the colloquial a gigantic task to Europeans or Americans. Even in the case of the Japanese student a mastery of the ideographs occupies years of hard study that might advantageously be given to other subjects. The Japanese to-day are sadly handicapped by their language, and some of their leading men are in favour of orthographic reform of one kind or another. I will now allow two of these to speak for themselves. The first to be asked to ascend the rostrum shall be Mr. Asama Chisen, who for some years edited the *Tōkyō Nichi Nichi Shimbun*, and who in addition to being a good scholar has figured as an influential member of the Diet. The series of articles from which I am going to quote appeared in the *Nichi Nichi Shimbun* early in 1898. They are as true to facts to-day as they were fifteen years ago. Reduced to bare outline, this is what Mr. Asama has to say under eight headings.

(1) *The Inconvenience attached to current Signs.*—To begin with the phonetic symbols known as *kana*, there are the square signs known as *katakana*, and no less than three variations of the cursive signs called *hiragana*. Coming to Chinese characters,

though Mr. Yano Fumio once asserted that 3,000 ideographs were all that it is necessary to know, in the opinion of the present writer 10,000 would be nearer the mark, that is, if the thorough understanding of learned subjects is desired. Then in the case of these ideographs three distinct forms of each character have to be remembered. There are the *kaisho*, the *gyōsho* and *sōsho*, the full square form, the contracted form of the same, and the cursive form. Of the latter there are endless contractions and variations. The result of all this is that whereas a child in Germany can learn to write its thoughts in eight months, and even in Russia, where the signs used are more difficult, in one year, in Japan even at the end of three years' close application the power of expressing the simplest ideas on paper is extremely limited. But the inconvenience of the present system is not confined to childhood. It is felt throughout life at every step of the journey. It sadly handicaps us in our competition with Occidentals. Many of their devices for lessening labour we cannot use and never shall be able to use without altering our present methods of writing. The typewriter, now so universally employed in the West, is useless here. The same may be said of the composing machine which so minimizes the labour of printing. It is absurd to say as some do that the preservation of the language as handed down to us, together with the traditional methods of writing it shows patriotism. If in our race with other countries we find ourselves handicapped by our clumsy set of symbols, love of country should prompt us to change them without delay.

(2) *Is a Change of Symbols Possible?*—What has been done in other countries may be done in this. In both Roumania and Servia the reform we are advocating here was accomplished in about forty years.

(3) *What Signs should be Adopted?*—Since there is in our opinion no importance to be attached to symbols apart from their phonetic value, and since the advantages of using the symbols which are best known among the foremost nations are very numerous, we are in favour of adopting the Roman letters. It is admitted on all hands that as phonetic signs for the Japanese language, the Chinese ideographs now in use are quite unsuitable.

There is no reason why Japan should not revive her beautiful *Yamato-kotoba* and employ it whenever possible instead of the borrowed speech now in use. The reasons for giving the Roman letters preference to all other symbols seem to me to be overwhelming, but even though another set of simple signs answering the same purpose were employed, there would be no cause for complaint.

(4) *Favourable Opportunities for Effecting the Proposed Change* :—Already two such opportunities have been allowed to pass without any permanent reform being accomplished. One of these was in the 6th and 7th years of Meiji, when the pro-foreign wave of sentiment was very strong and sweeping changes were all the fashion, Elementary Schools going as far as to use literal translations of Wilson's Readers instead of the Chinese Classics hitherto read. The other was when the Romaji-Kai was established and caused such a stir. The real reason of the collapse of the Romaji-Kai was the failure of the chief promoters of the movement to realise that in order to make Japanese thoroughly intelligible when written in Roman letters, it is necessary to use homonyms as little as possible. The writers for the *Romaji-Kai Zasshi* composed as if writing for an ordinary newspaper. Hence on account of the unintelligibility of the language used the whole enterprise was wrecked. The near approach of mixed residence affords another favourable occasion for effecting a change.

(5) *The Means to be Adopted to Compass the Desired Reform*.—In our opinion all that is necessary is that the Government should summon together the best scholars we have and intrust to them the elaboration of a scheme of reform. For writing Japanese the whole of the 26 letters of the Roman alphabet would not be needed, but they would be required for the spelling of the foreign names which would pass unaltered into the language. The committee of commissioners should be composed of the following elements : (a) There should be men who are well versed in phonetics, and who possess an exhaustive acquaintance with the language of ancient Japan, to whom should be intrusted the work of fixing the permanent sounds to be given to words or syllables. (b) There should be men who are qualified to com-

pile new text-books and readers for printing in Roman letters.

(c) There should be competent philologists' set to work to write grammars and compile lexicons. A date should be fixed after which all Government notices and all official letters should be written in the new symbols, and after which throughout all the schools of the land Chinese should be banished except as a special subject of study.

(6) *The Present Written Language.*—The chief thing to be said about this is that it is unsuited for use without the written ideograph. Documents read out are only partially understood, the number of homonyms that they contain often leaving the listener in doubt as to the meaning. What is known as the Chinese style, very much affected by officials, has no merits to make it worth preserving.

(7) *What should be the Standard of Style Adopted?* We recommend such books as Shunsui's *Iroha Bunko*, Ikkyū's *Hisa Kurige* and Mr. Fukuzawa's works as models of what is desirable. A listener is able to understand such books when read without examining a single character. The principle to be borne in mind is that the sound of words, and not their ideographic representation, must convey the meaning. In the reform we are advocating is it too much to expect that the Emperor himself should take the lead? If the Bureau to which is intrusted the preparation of Imperial Edicts and similar documents (the 文事書局 *Bunji-hisshokuyoku*) were to be instructed to no longer compose in the stilted and unintelligible style hitherto employed, but to use everyday speech, the effect would be most salutary throughout the country. Three great novelists, Ozaki Kōyō, Kōda Rohan, and Yamada Bimyō, have shown us what is capable of being effected in the way of uniting the written and the spoken languages. Unfortunately the scientific and learned world has not followed suit. The newspapers too are much to blame, with the single exception among the leading dailies of the *Jiji Shimpō*. Even this organ has of late been swept into the Chinese current. The *Tōkyō Nichi Nichi Shimbun* has in the past been one of the greatest transgressors, but it shall be so no longer.

(8) *Objections and Conclusion.*—There are those who in reply to what we have said will advocate the adoption of French or English instead of Japanese. This is a step that no independent country could be induced to take, and a measure that even conquered countries have refused to adopt. In vain did the French try to force their language on the English after the Norman Conquest. Others will affirm that to write Imperial Rescripts in everyday language would rob them of their dignity. So argued Europeans hundreds of years ago when no language but Latin was deemed classical; but such men as Chaucer, Spenser, and Shakespeare in England, and Goethe and Schiller in Germany, taught their countrymen that there were no heights of dignity and grace that could not be reached by their native tongues. Some will object to the scheme we have proposed on the score of expense, but a careful estimate would certainly tend to show that from all points of view the present system is the most expensive. It is all a question of labour compared with results. The conclusion we have reached, stated in a few words, is that the Roman letters should be adopted to the exclusion of the signs now in use, and that the written and the spoken languages should be made thoroughly identical.

MR. INOUE TETSUJIRŌ, D. LIT., ON THE FUTURE OF
JAPANESE ORTHOGRAPHY.

No living writer has given more careful thought to the whole question of orthographic reform than Dr. Inoue Tetsujirō. Among the numerous articles that he has written on the subject, that published in the *Dai Nihon* (a defunct magazine started by Mr. Matsumoto Kumpei and a few others) in August, 1907, for a concise presentation of the difficulties attending the Romanisation of Japanese certainly takes the palm. I furnish here a literal translation of certain parts of his essay, which will suffice to show the tenor of the whole:—

"I myself have for a long time been an advocate of Romanisation, and I consider that if it could be done the best thing would be to write our language altogether in Roman letters. But to

put this into practice all at once is quite impossible. In order to realise this object, it seems to me there must be the co-operation of a great many people and preparation extending over many long years.

PRIMARY SCHOOLS AND ROMAN LETTERS.

"For all we know, the age when our language will be written in Roman letters only may still be a century or two centuries distant, but I am of opinion that it would be a very easy thing to add Roman letters to the subjects taught in Primary Schools, and that there would be no difficulty at all in carrying this into practice. There are no doubt some who advocate the inclusion of a study of the Roman symbols in the Primary School course as a preparation for their exclusive adoption throughout the country, but, apart altogether from this object, there is a great deal to be said in favour of introducing the Roman letters in our Primary Schools, and when the question is regarded in connection with existing circumstances in this country, its necessity is apparent. This being the case, I wish to discuss the advisability of introducing Roman letters in our Primary Schools as an entirely separate question from their adoption by the whole nation to the exclusion of all other symbols.

"It is observable that in recent times a large number of notices, shop signs, and the like have come to be written in Roman letters. The names of railway stations too are all so written and the same is the case with labels on beer, wine, spirit bottles and packets of cigars, cigarettes, and tobacco. This has of course been done for the convenience of foreigners, but for Japanese who are more or less educated not to be able to read the labels on liquor bottles and packets of tobacco—articles that are produced in their own country—nor to be able to decipher the names of stations when written in Roman letters, should make them feel very uncomfortable. It would be another matter if learning these letters were very troublesome and laborious. But to be content to remain ignorant of something that can be acquired with the greatest ease is very reprehensible. The Roman letters

can be learnt more easily than our forty-eight symbols known as the *iroha*. Even supposing a study of them were added to the curriculum of Primary Schools, it would not tax the brains of scholars to any extent or prove burdensome to them at all. Recently the number of ideographs used in Primary Schools has been reduced so much that even if the learning of Roman letters did turn out to be more or less of a burden to scholars, this would to a certain extent be atoned for by the diminution in the number of Chinese characters to be learned. But even supposing that we went a step further and decided that the burden to be borne by all Primary School pupils would be made heavier by adding the study of Roman letters to the course, when we think of the numerous ways in which a knowledge of these letters is likely to prove useful in the future, the amount of labour required to learn them is not worth considering. But when we bear in mind how soon they are acquired and how greatly they are needed in everyday life, the question of adding a study of the Roman alphabet to the Primary School course can surely be settled quite easily without lengthy discussion.

ROMAN LETTERS AS NATIONAL SYMBOLS.

"When, next we come to the question of the advisability of adopting the Roman letters as our national symbols the point at issue is, we find, quite different from the one we have been considering above. This question is an extremely complicated and difficult one. It is hardly necessary to observe that, considered only from a theoretical point of view, it is abundantly clear that the Roman letters are far more advanced and more convenient than the ideographs and the *kana* we have hitherto used. But no sooner do we try to act on this theory and to employ these letters instead of our own symbols than obstacles of various sorts are encountered. It is because the question of changing our national symbols is attended by so much difficulty and because it may cause much inconvenience, that it is incumbent on everybody who is concerned about it to take the matter very seriously and to investigate it most earnestly. According to what most

people say, two facts constitute the greatest of all obstacles to the adoption of Roman letters as national symbols. One of these is the impossibility of parents and children understanding each other's letters if they were written in different ways. The parent would not be able to read the Roman symbols and the child could not read the Sinico-Japanese. Those who had been educated in the old style of writing would not be able to read the epistles of those who had only learned the Roman alphabet, and *vice versa*. How can this inconvenience be remedied? Another difficulty is this. Pupils only taught to understand Roman letters would be unable to read a single page of a book written in the old style. In order to make these books intelligible to such pupils, they would all have to be Romanised. This would be a huge task that would take years to accomplish. How can this problem be solved? It would seem that all advocates of Romanisation are greatly perplexed by the existence of the above-named difficulties. But in my belief the assumption on which this objection to Romanisation rests, the assumption that Roman letters are at once to be used as national symbols, is quite wrong. It is because certain people propose to suddenly adopt the use of Roman letters that this difficulty occurs as a matter of course. To state what I mean in other words, until public opinion is entirely in favour of the general adoption of Roman letters and adequate preparation has been made for their use throughout the country, no matter how long we wait, we shall find ourselves perpetually entangled in the meshes of the above-named difficulties—escape will be impossible.

SUITABLE PREPARATION.

“What, then, will constitute suitable preparation? It is no other than this: in the first place all persons who are tolerably well educated must be able to read and write Roman letters with facility; and in the next place there must be a good supply of books written in Roman letters. As a primary condition of this, it is quite essential that Roman letters should be taught in Elementary Schools. If the future graduates of these schools were able to read without difficulty not only Sinico-Japanese but

books and manuscripts written in Roman letters and to use both sets of symbols equally well in composing, there would be no fear of any inconvenience arising from the inability of parents and children to understand each other's letters. And if it came about that a large number of Romanised books were published, even though Chinese characters and Japanese *kana* were to be quite forgotten, readers would not suffer from any great inconvenience in their studies on this account. If a large number of Romanised books can not be published, no matter how easily the Roman letters themselves may be learnt, since they cannot be used as a means of mental culture, they will become like a stream whose source has dried up. On account of the above-named irremovable conditions, notwithstanding that Roman letters may be more civilised and more convenient than the symbols we now use, it is quite impossible for us to adopt them as national symbols within a short space of time. We must go to work deliberately, not neglecting various kinds of preparation, advancing towards the goal step by step. In order to reach it, great efforts will be necessary. We shall have to battle with and overcome all kinds of troublesome obstacles. The insertion of a study of Roman letters in the Primary School course is taking the first step, but while doing this we must endeavour to break through habits of long standing.

HOW CAN HABIT BE BROKEN THROUGH ?

"As I have already observed, nothing is easier than learning Roman letters, but if after a great many Romanised books have been published people refuse to read them, the use of Roman letters can never become universal. Refusal to read books written in Roman letters is the result of habit. People who have been accustomed to read Sinito-Japanese think this more convenient than simple Romanised Japanese from force of habit. This constitutes a great obstacle to the adoption of Roman letters. This attachment to old ways cannot be got rid of by mere argument. It can only be accomplished by showing people in a practical way that the Roman letters are more convenient than the symbols now in use; in order to do this, the handy and civilised

Roman letters must be taught to pupils of Elementary Schools during the first year of their attendance along with the symbols hitherto used, and things must be shaped so that as these pupils grow up they may take pleasure in using Roman letters. In order to effect this, Romanized literature will be necessary, some Romanised great books will be indispensable. If there are no books written in Roman letters in existence, though Roman letters may be known to be convenient, the means of getting versed in the use of them will be wanting, as this proficiency can only be obtained by reading. But if great literary works appear in a Romanised form, people will take to reading them without being urged to do so, and though at first they may seem difficult to peruse, by practice people will get accustomed to them and will recognise their convenience, and so sooner or later our whole literary world will become Romanistic, that is, will favour the exclusive use of Roman letters. It is the same with this as with other things, in order to make anything general, it is essential that people should turn to it naturally, that they should feel that it is something that must be carried into practice. Without this condition success is uncertain. Romanisation is not to be brought about by mere argument. If you say to people the Roman letters are convenient therefore use them, most of them, not being accustomed to these symbols, will think them inconvenient and hence will pay no attention to you. So it becomes a pressing matter to devise measures for making the use of Roman letters a practical necessity throughout the country.

THE FUTURE OF THE IDEOGRAPHS.

" When discussing the adoption of Roman letters as national symbols, in the natural order of things, we must pay due attention to the question of the future of the Chinese ideographs. If Roman letters were to become our national symbols, it goes without saying that the ideographs and the *kana* would no longer be national symbols, and so one might think that they would disappear altogether. What will happen a thousand years hence, or two thousand years hence, I can't say, but no matter how

popular the Roman letters may become, it is impossible to imagine that within the next four or five hundred years the nation will cease to make use of Chinese characters. Considered only theoretically, unquestionably the Roman letters are ever so much more civilised and convenient than Chinese characters. But it is impossible to entirely disregard the history of the ideographs in this country—a history which stretches over so many centuries. Even granting that some day this history may be ignored and the characters abolished, this certainly can never be brought about in one century or in two. In everything historical association and habit have an enormous amount of power and they are not to be overcome by reasoning. The Chinese characters cannot be suddenly abolished for the same reason that the Roman letters cannot be suddenly adopted. No matter how convenient the latter may be, or how many advantages they may possess, the habit of using Chinese characters has been so long established that for a good while to come the ideographs will still retain their hold on us. I do not think that anything like the total abolition of the ideographs can be effected in four or five centuries. Prior to their entire abolition there will, I think, be a long interval during which composition in Sinico-Japanese and composition in Romanised Japanese will both be practised side by side in the same way as we resort to foreign and Japanese dress to-day."

THE VIEWS OF DR. TSUBOUCHI ON PREVAILING STYLES.

I will conclude this chapter by giving the views of Dr. Tsubouchi, who is regarded as the greatest living authority on the Japanese drama, on the development which the Japanese language is now undergoing, as stated in the *Bunshō Sekai* some four years ago :—

"There are at present four distinct styles prevailing that may all be pronounced combinations of the written and the spoken languages. (1) There are printed speeches that appear just as they were taken down by the stenographer. These contain so many repetitions and superfluous words that they make

tedious reading. (2) Another style in vogue consists in the main of the ordinary written language, colloquialised somewhat by means of the endings of sentences adopted and by the use of occasional high-class colloquial expressions. But such phrases as *itsu ni shite, tarazu*; and *ani aete*, etc. are often used, and the whole cast of the sentences and the methods of expressing thought follow the rules of the written language too exclusively to admit of our considering this style to be worthy of extensive imitation. (3) Another style in fashion for tales for young people that are afterwards published, consists of a reproduction of ordinary colloquial speech in the simplest form possible, free from all ornamentation. (4) Yet another style is that which, as the result of much contrivance, has been adopted by novelists. We do not mean to imply that all novelists write alike. This is by no means the case, but the language of modern fiction constitutes a distinct style of its own, which distinguishes it from all other classes of writing. Of these four styles the first two deserve neither to be perpetuated nor esteemed. But the two last merit attention. Colloquial written much as it is spoken undoubtedly has a great future before it.* One of the great advantages of this style of language is its freedom from harsh-sounding and difficult Chinese and from vulgarisms. Its charm is its naturalness, simplicity and lucidity. It needs no explanation. It certainly furnishes the best foundation for the development of a *Gembun-itchi* (union of the written and the spoken languages) style of an ideal kind, being entirely free from the artificiality and labouredness of many other methods of composing. As to the language used in novels, it displays an astonishing amount of variety, the writers having apparently followed different models. In turning from book to book we are struck by this variety. Now we seem to be reading Japanese of the Nara or the Heian eras, and anon we pass from the style of the war story to that of the play-writer. We are reminded of Chikamatsu and of Bakin in turn. But in that each writer is endeavouring to ex-

* Japanese magazines are full of this language to-day. Speeches are reproduced just as they are delivered; There is constantly a painful amount of prolixity, but no obscurity, in orations of this kind.

press poetic ideas of some kind or other, is trying to dress up human life in fanciful costume, there is a distinct resemblance in the language employed by various novelists. We cannot recommend this language for general use, however, any more than we could recommend wives to address their husbands in the language of the Stage. I must confess that I see enormous difficulties in the way of the adaptation of our colloquial *to all the purposes for which a national tongue is needed*. There is as yet no newspaper that resorts to it in leading articles, reports, telegrams, narratives, or advertisements. Imperial Rescripts, Laws, Government Notices, solemn funeral orations, and the like would lose most of their dignity if rendered into colloquial speech. The *Analects of Confucius* or the *Middle Way*, if put into colloquial, would be robbed of its beauty and sacredness. This consideration constitutes the chief obstacle to the exaltation of the colloquial to the rank of the written language now in use. But what is needed is that we should go on improving our colloquial so as to bring it nearer and nearer to the written language. The notion that Chinese words should be eradicated from it we do not favour. We approve of discontinuing to use the written ideographs, but in colloquial speech we can go on using Chinese compounds of all kinds just as Englishmen constantly employ Greek and Latin compounds in ordinary conversation."

CHAPTER III.

GENERAL REMARKS ON THE FICTION OF THE MEIJI ERA.

The modern literary world may be said to have originated in the earnest labours of such men as Nakamura Keiji and Fukuzawa Yukichi, who were among the pioneers that introduced Japanese readers to the charms of Western thought. The first fifteen years of the Meiji era may be regarded as an age of import. Translations, good or bad, of well-known foreign works in all the principal book-shops crowded out the old Japanese and Chinese works hitherto in such request. The events that preceded and followed Saigō's rebellion turned the attention of the

nation from literature for a time, but when the political atmosphere again grew congenial to the lovers of literary pursuits, a reaction in favour of purely national and Chinese literature set in, and, in order to neutralize the effects of this movement, such societies as the Kana-no Kai and Romaji-Kai were organised—bodies whose existence the present generation has almost forgotten. The pro-foreign section of the reading public naturally found the works of the two translators mentioned above somewhat too prosy for constant perusal, and a demand for books of a lighter type grew so pronounced that Mr. Yano Fumio's *Keikoku-bidan* brought him in a small fortune. One of the most eminent novelists of that day, and a writer who may be said to have been the father of modern novelists, was Dr. Teubouchi Yüzō. He graduated at the Imperial University, and was a most diligent student of English literature. He is the author of the well-known works *Shizaru Kidan* (Incidents in the Life of Caesar); *Shosei Kishitsu* (The Character of a Student); *Imose Kagami* (A Conjugal Mirror); *Mirai no Yume* (A Dream about the Future), and *Shōsetsu Shinzui* (The Essence of Romance). Other novelists of that time worthy of mention were Aeba Kōson, an imitator of ancient styles of writing and of a conservative turn of mind; Sudo Nansui, noted for his polished style and powerful grouping of incidents; Morita Shiken, who devoted his wide knowledge of Chinese and his classic pen to the presentation in popular form of Western ideas; Kōda Rohan, a master of the style of the Buddhist Zen sect, with all the contempt for material things and the abstraction from everyday humdrum life that possess such fascination for unworldly minds; Ozaki Kōyō, who was better versed in the literature of the Genroku era (1688-1704) than any man of his time, and who wrote in the style of the seventeenth-century novelists, albeit with the same indecent allusions that characterise their works; Ishibashi Shian, who discussed the relation of the sexes and blended the elements of romance found in foreign works of fiction to suit the tastes of Japanese readers, a task that his extensive acquaintance with what is known as *Yamato-kotoba* specially qualified him to perform; Iwaya Sazanami, an earnest student of German literature,

whose special gift it was to stimulate and to instruct the rising generation ; Miyazaki Sammai and Saikiku Sanjin, both men of great reputation ; and Yamada Bimyōsai, of the realistic school of novelists, an ardent admirer of Zola and other French writers of fiction, who will ever be remembered in the Japanese literary world for his earnest advocacy of the amalgamation of the colloquial and the written styles, and for the well executed models of the dual styles unified that his writings furnished. These authors who, in many cases, as will be perceived by readers of this paper modestly retired behind a variety of *noms de plume*, all earned a reputation by novel-writing which, however short-lived it may prove to have been, has to be taken into account when we are seeking to mark the stages through which Japanese literature passed in its onward march. Considering how little accustomed to anything like serious reading were the majority of semi-educated persons a few decades ago, it is not to be wondered at that Occidental thought had to be administered in small doses and largely mixed with palatable ingredients. We are aware that it is customary with certain Japanese writers to treat with supreme contempt the panders to the public taste whose works we have been considering. These critics are mostly of the conservative school : they regard the ruthless removal of old literary and moral landmarks as fraught with unseen dangers of a serious kind. It is the opinion of many foreign observers that the minds of staid Japanese are cast in serious moulds, and consequently they regard the lamentations over the novel-loving spirit of the age uttered in various quarters as genuine expressions of the natural antipathy of Japanese to anything like unintermittent frivolity. The majority of the novels of this period were of an inferior type, consisting of poor imitations of Bakin, of literal translations from foreign works, or reproductions of Chinese works. The demand for novels was so great that new editions of numbers of almost forgotten works were published; and there sprung into existence a "Novel Publishing Company," which, while the rage lasted, drove a roaring trade, and a novel publishing magazine, which obtained a wide circulation. Many of the writers of romance, however, received a somewhat severe hand-

ling from such critics as Ningetsu and Shōdayū, men that concealed their identity under these assumed names. As a result of adverse criticism combined with a certain amount of satiety on the part of readers, the ordinary love-story gave place to the detective story which was rendered popular by Mr. Kuroiwa Ruiko. Lovers of light literature were also regaled with poems and plays, some original, others reproductions of foreign compositions. At the close of 1888 the rage for novels may be said to have passed. The granting of a Constitution and the establishment of the Diet were events that for several years absorbed public attention, and became the means of calling into existence a class of literature that only exists in countries where the Government encourages the public discussion of great national questions and is determined to be guided as far as possible by enlightened public opinion. The present era may be said to be the age of newspapers and magazines.

CHAPTER IV.

FUKUZAWA YUKICHI AND HIS WRITINGS.

In the opinion of a large number of his fellow-countrymen no single man contributed so much towards the creation of modern Japan as the journalist, educationist, author, and orator who goes by the name of the Mita Sage. Although all are agreed in considering Mr. Fukuzawa to be a very striking personality, there are some Japanese and not a few foreigners who hold that his views were anything but elevating. His ideal has been represented to be a low one. Such, however, is not my opinion. After a close study of his writings extending over many years, I have reached the conclusion that, judged by what standard we may wish to apply to him, it is not difficult to prove that Mr. Fukuzawa was a great man. Without further preface I will now proceed to justify this opinion by reference to the history of his remarkable career.

There is not much of any special interest to record concerning Fukuzawa's parentage and boyhood. He was born December 12th, 1834, at Dōjima, in the City of Ōsaka. He was the youngest of five children, one of which was a boy and the other

three girls. His father, Fukuzawa Hyakusuke, was a retainer of Okudaira Daizen-no Taifu, Lord of the Nakatsu Clan, in the province of Buzen, Kyūshū, a Chinese scholar and a devout Confucianist. His mother is described as "strong-willed and charitable." Hyakusuke died when Yukichi was only three years old, and so the instruction he received in early years all came from his mother. The family was poor and each child had to work hard. Yukichi took delight in manual labour and showed great ingenuity and handiness in early days. He papered walls, repaired clogs, made sandals for himself and members of the family, mended mats, stopped leaks in the house-roof and even hooped tubs. While still a boy, by offering certain insults to images or things that were deemed sacred, he convinced himself that there was no such thing as divine punishment as understood by certain Japanese. He grew up with a contempt for idolatry, augury, and enchantment. He freed himself from the thralldom of the superstition which enchained so many of his contemporaries.

At the age of fourteen he knew hardly anything about books, but from this time onward he applied himself so diligently to study and displayed so much talent that five or six years later he is said to have read the Confucian *Spring and Autumn Annals* some dozen times and to have become a good Chinese scholar. But he and his family were still very poor. He eked out a living by making and selling clogs, and by lacquering and ornamenting swords, an art in which he was very proficient. At shampooing he was regarded as an expert.

The arrival of Commodore Perry in 1853 and the events that followed it greatly excited Fukuzawa's mind, and at the age of 20 he began to study Dutch in Deshima, Nagasaki, in the house of a teacher of gunnery, one Yamamoto Sōjurō, to whom he acted as a servant. This was in the year 1854. The following year he moved to Ōsaka, where he attended the famous Dutch school of Ogata Kōan. At this time he had his first taste of real trouble. His brother's illness and subsequent death, his own serious illness from typhoid fever, and the pecuniary embarrassments of his family all interfered with his studies for a while, but he was

endowed with resolution which enabled him to overcome every obstacle to progress and to work out his own destiny. From the study of Dutch he went on to the study of English, labouring under tremendous difficulties owing to the few facilities that existed in this country at that time for mastering a foreign language.

The history of his literary life, which extended over more than forty years, Fukuzawa gave to the world four years before his death, which took place on January 25th, 1901. Since it is calculated that some eight million copies of books written by him have been circulated, and since many of these books are eagerly read to-day, partly on account of the style in which they are written and partly on account of their contents, the following extracts from the introduction to the first edition of his collected works, written by Fukuzawa himself and covering 787 pages will, I think, prove of considerable interest to readers of this paper. I will allow Fukuzawa to tell us in his own lucid manner how the transformation of feudal Japan into the Japan of to-day was effected and the part that he took in spreading the knowledge of Western civilisation. But before doing this I wish to call attention to the fact that Fukuzawa was the master of a style of writing which in this country has never been surpassed or perhaps equalled in the matter of simplicity and lucidity. In popularising knowledge Fukuzawa was the Huxley of Japan. His success is to be attributed to a certain charm of diction which renders the perusal of his books a pleasant pastime to Japanese readers. In reference to the acquirement of this style, in 1897, Fukuzawa wrote :— " About forty years ago, I became the pupil of Dr. Ogata Kōan, of Ōsaka, a medical man. At this time Sugita Seikei, of Edo, and Dr. Ogata were at the height of their fame. They were both well versed in Dutch and were both engaged in translating to a considerable extent. But the methods followed by the two men were very different. Sugita was careful to reproduce the original, phrase for phrase and word for word. But Ogata took the greatest liberties possible with the text, only consulting it in a general way. He thought that when writing for Japanese readers it was quite unnecessary to keep to the Dutch

author's method of expressing his thoughts. Ogata's aim was to make his translation thoroughly intelligible to readers, and in this he succeeded. From Ogata I learnt that the art of being able to express thoughts in so simple and clear a manner that persons of ordinary intelligence can comprehend them is the highest of all literary accomplishments. This art I studied and in two books I published some time after, the *Seiyō-tabi-annai* (Guide to Western Countries) and the *Kyōri Zukai* (Physics explained by charts) my one aim was to make the subjects treated intelligible to peasants and other illiterate people when the books were read to them. In order to be sure that I had attained my object and for the sake of being able to make corrections when necessary, I caused the manuscript to be read to a few illiterate women and children. Whatever was not understood I altered, changing classical terms into words in common use among semi-educated people. Thus by degrees I acquired a written colloquial style, which I have retained to this day."

The account Fukuzawa gives of the circumstances which led to the publication of his numerous books, the reception those books met with and the state of public opinion in Japan at the time of their publication, are most interesting and deserve wider publicity among Europeans and Americans than they have yet obtained. Here is what he has to tell us on these topics:—

"The subjects on which I wrote were not chosen haphazard, they were suggested by the spirit of the age at the time of the publication of my various books. In the early sixties the anti-foreign spirit was very strong. Foreign ways were quite unknown to the illiterate and many of them cursed 'the red-bearded barbarians who were polluting the land of the gods with their presence.' I perceived that the nation could make no real progress till the masses became enlightened, and that this enlightenment could only be effected by flooding the country with books written in a style that everybody could understand. I will now proceed to give an account of the books which I have reason to believe largely influenced public opinion in the early decades of the Meiji era.

"In 1859 I settled in Edo. The first work that I published

there was a small dictionary giving in Japanese *kana* the English pronunciation of Chinese names. This was followed by the *Seiyō Jijō* (Foreign Affairs), which has had a wide circulation, more than 250,000 copies having been sold. One of the chief reasons for its success was the fact that it contained an account of all that had impressed me during the twelve months that I spent in Europe, whither I was fortunate enough to be able to go in connection with the mission despatched at that time. Before this I had only read about foreign countries. Imagine my astonishment when I examined everything with my own eyes. There are men whose foreign tours end in wonder. It was not so with me. When witnessing the various signs of progress in Europe, I said to myself, 'This progress shall be seen in Japan before many years are past.' I returned to this country full of what I had seen and made it my aim to enlighten the poorly educated *samurai* as to the real state of things in the West and with that intent published the *Seiyō Jijō*. As is well known, our Japanese revolution was not the work of scholars. The learned few were powerless to effect such changes as were required. Before I went to Europe, so strong was the anti-foreign spirit that, much as I desired to do so, I found it impossible to study English in Yokohama. But this antipathy to foreigners, as appeared plainly enough later on, was only the result of ignorance. That ignorance my book did something to dissipate.

"My early study of English was attended with great difficulties. I had to acquire it by means of Dutch. Acquiring it in that way, though acquainted with hundreds of learned terms, I often found myself ignorant of words in common use among children of four or five years of age in England.*

"My next work was called *Raijū Sōhō* (Use of the Rifle). My reason for publishing this work was that in the war between Chōshū and the Bakufu, the former was victorious owing to the superiority of its rifle-shooting. Though convinced of the need

* In the last edition of Mr. Chamberlain's *Handbook of Colloquial Japanese*, p. 337 et seq., there is an interesting account of Mr. Fukuzawa's early English studies.

of such a book, I was in no way qualified to write it, being quite ignorant of such matters. I hunted through bookstore after bookstore in search of an English or Dutch work on the subject, and at last came across just what I wanted. The little volume cost me sixty-eight *sen*. I set to work and translated it as well as I could. Its success fairly astounded me. I am afraid to say how many copies were sold. In connection with this I may mention that Murata Shobō, the famous inventor of what is now called the Murata rifle, once told me that his attention was first drawn to the subject of rifles by my little book. It is somewhat amusing to know that a great inventor was given to the world by means of a book translated by the veriest tyro on the subject of firearms.

"The next work I published was the *Seiyō-tabianai* (Guide to Travellers in the West). When in 1866 I was sent to America on Bakufu business, before leaving I went to Yokohama and applied to Messrs. Walsh, Hall & Co., for an order on America. I was furnished with Bank of England notes. To these I objected on the ground that they were payable in England, to which country I was not going. It took the clerk two whole hours to convince me that these notes would be accepted in America. Knowing how ignorant most of my fellow-countrymen were in all such matters, I prepared the above-named work.

"In publishing my *Kyūri-zukai* (Physics explained by Charts) I had a special object in view. I wished to show how crude and erroneous were the notions entertained in Japan at that time on the laws that govern the material universe and to convince my readers of the immense superiority of foreign teaching in this branch of knowledge and thus prepare their minds for accepting Western guidance on numerous other topics. It seemed to me important to begin with a subject that was capable of clear demonstration.

"The *Yōkei Meikan*, a work on foreign military tactics drill, etc., was a translation which I prepared for a Kumamoto military man. I received the sum of 870 *yen* for the book, which money I utilised for adding a new building to the Keiōgijuku.

"The *Gijin-dan* is a work that gives an account of the

method of debating followed by the English Parliament. At the time of its publication the desire for representative government in Japan was growing stronger every day, and the book was waited for with such interest that I had to work at it night and day to insure its early publication. Though the work consisted of two volumes, the blocks were prepared and the book printed in 37 days, a feat which in those times was very rare.

"My *Sekai-Kunizukushi* was designed to enlighten the ignorant as to the size, location, history, customs and general character of the principal countries in the world. At the time of its publication the world known to most Japanese did not include the whole of Asia, to say nothing of Europe, America and Africa.

"The *Gakumon no Susume* (Promotion of Learning) was published in 17 small volumes and treated of a variety of subjects under discussion at that time. Its circulation was large; certainly not less than 200,000 copies were sold, which represents 3,400,000 volumes. It caused more stir in the country than anything I ever wrote. It was furiously attacked on all sides. Among other things the remark that the death of a *samurai* who threw away his life foolishly out of mistaken loyalty to his master was no better than that of a dog gave great offence. The newspapers were mostly against me. Numerous were the threatening letters that I received, and my friends showed great concern for my personal safety. In order to quiet public excitement and appease the anger of my opponents, I was recommended to state my case afresh in the columns of one of the newspapers under a *nom de plume*. This I did in the *Chōya Shinbun* signing myself "*Kriōgijiku-no-gokuro-semban*," with the desired result.

"When the *Dōmō oshie-gusa* (Moral Instruction for the Young) was published early in the Meiji era, few books on morality as taught in Western countries existed in the language, this subject having been much neglected by early translators and writers. This work, which consists of five volumes, has been much used in schools and has, I am told, helped to mould the minds of young people into the right shape.

"The *Katarina-musume* (The Deformed Daughter) is a

novel with a purpose, that purpose being the bringing about of the discontinuance of silly customs. The practice of blackening the teeth, not only followed by married women but by Court nobles at that time, seemed to me most objectionable, in that it destroyed beauty given by nature. The war against foolish customs is one I have always felt it my duty to wage.

"A little pamphlet called *Kaireki-ben* (An Explanation of the Change of Calendar) was written when I was in bed with a cold in six hours. Though the price of a copy was only a few *sen*, in three months it brought me in 700 *gen*. At that time the anti-sordid spirit of the old *samurai* was very strong with me, and I remember asking myself whether I was justified in taking from the public 700 *gen* for six hours' work. The change in the calendar took place on November 11th, 1872. Few people had any notion why the change was made or what it meant. Hence the large demand for my little book. At the end of the book I taught my fellow-*samurai* and others how to read the time. This trifling addition increased the circulation of the book immensely, which went on growing larger month after month.

"None of my books cost me more labour than a treatise I published on book-keeping called *Chōai-no-hō*. In the first place, the whole subject was new to me, and then I found it impossible to hit on suitable equivalents in Japanese for the many technical terms found in foreign books. What I aimed at and what I eventually effected was the application of foreign methods of book-keeping to Japanese accounts.

"The *Kwaigi-ben* is a book on debating and public speaking generally, for which there was a great demand at the time of its publication. It is hard for people to realise to-day how numerous were the obstacles to the practice of Western oratory in Japan in former times. Many of the terms now in common use on the platform were coined at the Keiōgijiku. This was the case with the word now used as the equivalent of speech, *enzetsu*. *Tōron* as an equivalent for debate, *kuketsu* for the passing and *hiketsu* for the rejection of a bill, resolution, or motion, and *sansai*

for seconding or supporting a motion, and many other words all originated at that time.

"In this context it may be of interest to relate the early history of public speaking in Tōkyō. In 1874 we made a commencement at the Keiōgijuku. I began by writing out my speeches in full, but afterwards abandoned this practice and simply prepared my thoughts and left myself free to choose what language suggested itself at the time. After some months, I felt sufficient confidence in myself to recommend my system to others. At that time there existed a society called the Meirokusha, whose meetings were attended by a number of scholars, among whom were Mitsukuri Shūbei, Nishi Shū, Katō Hirokuki and Mori Arinori. To the members of this society I expounded my method, but received no encouragement whatever. Mr. Mori threw cold water on the whole thing. He maintained that public speaking was essentially a Western performance, where success depended largely on the genius of the language used. The Japanese tongue, he said, was quite unsuited for use in any such way, and so on. To this I replied that the sermons of priests, the *kōshakushi* (lecturers) and the speeches of *hanashika* (story-tellers) furnish abundant proof that oratory of a very effective kind is quite possible in this country. But as the above-named scholars still remained obdurate, to show them what could be achieved in this line I delivered a speech in their presence, which they admitted was quite intelligible to them from beginning to end. On from that time public speaking became all the fashion throughout Japan. At the Keiōgijuku we erected a Lecture Hall, after sending to America for plans of numerous public buildings."

"In the year 1874 it seemed to me that the nation was sufficiently persuaded of the superiority of Western civilisation to be able to appreciate a fuller account of Occidental progress than that furnished by the fragmentary treatises hitherto published. I therefore set to and prepared a work consisting of six volumes called *Bunmei-ron no Gairyaku* (A Concise History of Civilisation). My labours were appreciated by the public. The book had a large sale. So highly was it esteemed by Saigō Takamori that he recommended all young men to read it.

OFFICIAL HOSTILITY.

"My *Minkan-Keizairoku* (An Account of Economy as practised by the People) was intended to help the trading classes by explaining to them Western business principles and methods. The work took the form of a Reader and was largely used in Government schools up to about the year 1882, when the Department of Education issued orders that none of my books were to be employed in State schools, since they contained injurious matter. The interdict of the Mombushō did me more good than harm, as ten years later a rich man called Horikoshi, at his own expense, printed 2,500 copies of the above-named work and circulated them among the shopkeepers of Tōkyō.

My *Bunkenron* (Divided Authority and Power), *Minkenron* (Popular Rights), *Kokkenron* (National Rights) and *Jiji Shōgen* (Words for the Time) all had one object, namely, the improvement of the relations of the Government to the people. In the early years of the Meiji era there was a tendency among prominent statesmen to advance without the people, to disregard popular feeling, and, instead of taking steps to enlighten the masses as to the advisability of proposed reforms, to despotically force these reforms upon unwilling subjects. I perceived that this was the wrong way to set to work. At this time the two watch-words throughout the country were *kwanken* (Official Rights) and *minken* (Popular Rights), and bitter indeed was the strife between the two parties. I always aimed at playing the rôle of a mediator, at throwing oil on the troubled waters, at enabling one side to approach the other. I denounced in unmeasured terms the despotism, the superciliousness, the red-tapeism displayed throughout the official world at that time and pointed out that the day was not far distant when the lower orders would no longer consent to be treated as if they were cattle. The Government did not know then how a progressive people should be governed."

In February, 1896, a work entitled *Fukuzawa's Hundred Essays* was published. It has run through some 30 editions. The Complete Works of Fukuzawa in five large volumes came

out in September, 1897. The next year saw the publication of his *Autobiography* and his attack on Kaibara's *Great Learning for Women* in his *New Great Learning for Women*, a book which has been eagerly read by progressive Japanese ladies.

FUKUZAWA'S POSTHUMOUS NAME.

It often happens that posthumous names in no way represent realities, that they are mere empty titles chosen without any reference to the character of the deceased. But it was not so in the case of the title given to Fukuzawa, Daikwanin Dokuriten-jison Kōji, "A layman of high rank possessed of the deepest insight, whose motto was 'independence and self-respect.'" This title was evidently chosen by some one who appreciated the genius and the sterling merits of the greatest of all the pioneers of Occidental civilisation in this country. The term Daikwanin might perhaps in this case be rendered the "Great Seer," taking the word seer in the sense in which it was once used as descriptive of a man who sees further into the essence of things than it is given to ordinary mortals to do, or in the old Hebrew prophetic sense as the title of a man who could predict the course of events by intelligence not possessed by ordinary men. I must confess that in reading Mr. Fukuzawa's books I have again and again been struck by the ease with which he pounces at once on the most vital parts of the subject he is treating, relegating all else to a comparatively insignificant place. This is real genius and it qualifies him to rank among the higher order of intelligences.

A MANY-SIDED LIFE.

In attempting to review Fukuzawa's life I am embarrassed by the abundance of the material available for such a purpose. His life was so many-sided that it is quite impossible in a paper of this kind to do anything like justice to any one aspect in particular. His character was undoubtedly the foundation of all his many merits and achievements. Perhaps in the case of most men who, like the present writer, knew Fukuzawa well, what most aroused admiration were his mental qualities—his candour,

simplicity, courage, disregard of rank and titles, common sense, earnestness, great resolution, unselfishness and undying devotion to a cause. Without these qualities the man could never have stamped himself on the minds of his fellow-countrymen in the way he did.

Very early in life Fukuzawa came to the conclusion that all things considered, Western civilisation is superior to Eastern, and that his life should be devoted to the task of explaining to his fellow-countrymen what is signified by that very complex thing called civilisation. This was by no means an easy task. Polished writers like Guizot and Buckle found that they had to prepare bulky volumes in order to do anything like justice to the theme, and even they have left much unsaid, as has been pointed out again and again. In bringing within the comprehension of the masses such an extremely involved and technical subject as Western civilisation, Fukuzawa's work in Japan resembled that of Huxley in England. The true significance of Darwinism was only fully understood by the reading public of England and America after Huxley had, in popular style and with striking lucidity, explained what was implied and involved in the discoveries of the greatest of modern naturalists. It was the manner in which Fukuzawa did this work that convinced onlookers like myself that he was no ordinary genius. There are no laboured sentences in Fukuzawa's books. *Ars est celare artem*, says Ovid. It is the perfection of art to conceal art.

FUKUZAWA'S TEACHING AS A SCHOOLMASTER.

Japanese opinion is divided as to whether Fukuzawa was greater as a journalist and an author than as an educationist. Toyabe Shuntei held the view that journalism was Fukuzawa's proper rôle, and he wrote a striking article on this subject. The *Jiji Shimpô* has always occupied a high place among the great dailies of the metropolis and has a special character of its own. Its influence on current thought has undoubtedly been very great. But it seems to me that the good Mr. Fukuzawa did as a schoolmaster will outlive what he accomplished as a journalist.

Conversation with Keiōgijiku graduates all over the country has convinced me that the spirit of the master pervaded the minds of his pupils. Each student became a miniature Fukuzawa. The power wielded by a popular schoolmaster is enormous, as was well illustrated by the career of Dr. Arnold at Rugby.

It is impossible to discuss in this essay in any but the most cursory manner the effect on national life of the Mita system of education. There was a time when it seemed to me that the attention of the senior students of the Keiōgijiku was too exclusively concentrated on abstract subjects, when Western generalisations appeared to be taking the place of those of the Chinese sages whose works had been so much used as text-books in the pre-Meiji era. The effect of this was to turn out a theorising, logic-chopping, disputation set of young men who were ill-acquainted with the special needs of the country to which they belonged. But this mistake was remedied by Fukuzawa later on. In recent years the training given at the Keiōgijiku has been mostly of a practical kind. The remarkable revolution in Japanese thought brought about largely by the influence of Fukuzawa and his fellow-teachers is worth mentioning. To them belongs the credit of having taught a large section of the nation that there is nothing undignified about manual labour. Many of the Mita graduates have taken to farming, trade or industry. Fukuzawa succeeded in building a bridge to span the gulf that in olden times separated the polished scholar from the business man. And in doing this he opened the way for the creation of an entirely new class of business men. While all the superior minds in this country despised business and refused to associate with business men, there was no hope of the latter's ever reaching a higher level of attainment.

HIS IDEALS.

For the study of Fukuzawa as a leader of thought and a moral teacher his Hundred Short Essays entitled *Fuku-Ō Hyaku-ka* furnish abundant material. Into this subject it is impossible to go at any length in this paper. Not a few foreigners and some Japanese hold that Fukuzawa makes out that human

life is more insignificant than it really is. Man, they say, is compared by him to an insect that is born in the morning and dies at night, to dust, even to a maggot. Life is described as *taumure*, sport. Now it seems to me that the essay in which the above similes occur (No. VII.) has been very much misunderstood. In making the remarks to which so much objection has been taken, Fukuzawa had a special object in view, and his real meaning can only be understood by paying close attention to the context. Most people take life too seriously, says Fukuzawa, hence they wear themselves out by worrying over trifles. How insignificant is our existence after all! Think of the vastness of the scale of creation. How infinitesimally small is any single man in the great world of which he forms a part! The world can get on without him. The argument here is that most forms of anxiety and discontent originate with over-estimation of the importance of life. Life should be regarded with the indifference and lightness of heart with which we regard our sports. Nothing lasts long, not even the most distressing circumstances, and therefore to harass one's soul about anything is a mistake. But at the same time we must make the best of life and fulfil all its duties. Indifference should be carried far enough to fortify us against being crushed by reverses, but not to the length of making us neglect any of the means of bettering our position within our reach. When we read on and see what Fukuzawa expected this insignificant creature man to fulfil in the way of duty, we find him assuming as much grandeur as we could wish. In Essay X. we are told that man finds himself in possession of a mind that can free itself from all the trammels of time and space and soar to sublime heights. Man's imagination and aspirations know no limits. The consciousness that he possesses an all-exploring mind, says Fukuzawa, imparts to man's life a loftiness and dignity that it would not otherwise possess. In Essay XI. it is maintained that a virtuous disposition is in many cases nothing but aesthetic taste, an appreciation of what is beautiful in conduct. This is the old Greek idea. Their *kalos* expressed both the beautiful and the good, while *aischros* was used for the ugly and the morally bad. In Essay XIII. the benefits of regarding

things light-heartedly is declared to be highly conducive to activity and zeal. It must not be overlooked that the levity of mind on which Fukuzawa dwells so much is a quality that the whole nation has cultivated for centuries. It is a form of stoicism, but Fukuzawa held that it does not lead to fatalism nor engender carelessness. To those who have asserted that Fukuzawa was a mere man of the world who grovelled in the dust and possessed no lofty ideal, I would recommend Essay XIV., which urges in eloquent language the necessity of our ever setting before us a high ideal and of our daily striving to reach it. Men of learning, says Fukuzawa, have the means of finding out what is the highest ideal of virtue, *and as for those who have no other guide*, they should fall back on religion, which can furnish them with better ideals than they can frame for themselves.

In Essay C, he takes up the subject of ideals again and points out that in the present state of the world absolute perfection is unattainable, but in the far distant future, when knowledge will have so advanced that the material world will have disclosed all its secrets to man, when in all spheres of investigation the chain of cause and effect will be quite clear to all inquiring minds, absolute perfection may, he thinks, be attainable. This last essay, as it is the longest, is in many respects the most interesting of the series. It gives the basis of the optimism that pervades all Fukuzawa's writing. Fukuzawa was an optimist because he had unbounded confidence in man's potentiality. He held that the world's evils are all curable and that man's happiness during his sojourn in the world is capable of being rendered almost complete. His belief in the future of mankind is based on the marvellous progress in knowledge which the past has witnessed.

Utilitarianism as a system of philosophy may be unintelligible to the masses, but Fukuzawa's adaptation of the leading principles of this system in the Mita Code of Ethics may be understood by people who have had few educational advantages. The Mita system of ethics is founded on the bedrock of bare fact and hence possesses a stability not possessed by the airy structures that pose as its rivals. Fukuzawa appealed to what he knew to be the conscientious feelings of his fellow-countrymen,

and in doing this adopted the course which moral reformers in all times and all countries have followed with success.

In Japan he was quite a new product. He was in every sense of the word a self-made man. He maintained throughout his whole life a beautiful simplicity of mind, a contempt for titles, empty names and vulgar display of any kind. Though the counsellor, and in every respect the equal, of Japan's greatest statesmen, nobody could tempt him to accept office under the Government. To me he has always seemed to be the grandest of all the actors who have appeared on the stage in this enlightened era. No Japanese has won for himself more universal respect from all classes of society.

CHAPTER V.

THE FUTURE OF CIVILISATION IN JAPAN.

Before taking up other subjects in order and quoting opinions thereon from the writings of well-known scholars, I propose to furnish an epitome of a remarkably outspoken essay which appeared in the *Taigō* some years ago and which was much discussed by Japanese writers at the time of its publication, penned by Dr. H. Ōtsuka.

The question which Dr. Ōtsuka put to himself and endeavoured to answer was this: How far has Japan actually gone in the adoption of Western civilisation, and how far, all things considered, is it desirable she should go? Foreign writers on Japan have for the most part been inclined to adopt the view that the changes which the Meiji era witnessed were not mere surface changes, but changes in the innermost thoughts, in the feelings, the customs, the taste and aspirations of the mass of the Japanese people. Most of these writers hold the opinion that what is known as Western civilisation is in every way superior to what is known as Eastern civilisation, and that the leading men in Japan to-day all recognize this, and that consequently these men are in favour of Japan being thoroughly Occidentalized. I myself have never held this opinion, and I feel sure that it is quite erroneous.

Dr. Ôtsuka is certainly an authority on this question ; and he is by no means the only learned man in Japan who holds the view that in a very large number of important particulars the Japanese mind has not changed at all. But I will allow the learned Professor to speak for himself, confining myself to a mere statement of his conclusions in as brief a manner as the subject permits. The first part of Dr. Ôtsuka's essay is purely abstract, consisting of a general discussion of four principles : (1) Individualism ; (2) Patriarchism ; (3) Nationalism ; (4) Cosmopolitanism. He rightly points out that in reality these principles do not work independently of each other ; neither are they by any means always antagonistic to each other. The high development of individuals helps forward the realisation of high family ideals, and this again contributes materially to the growth of a strong State and the existence of a number of well-governed and enlightened States conduces to the highest welfare of the whole world. In the working of these principles in various countries there is of course difference in the degree to which prominence is given to one or other of them ; that is, in as far as the first three are concerned, for there is in existence no country where cosmopolitanism reigns supreme, or where it takes precedence of all other principles. Passing from the abstract to the concrete and discussing the actual attitude of the Japanese mind to-day to the individualism of the Western world and to other characteristics of our civilisation, the substance of what Dr. Ôtsuka says is as follows :—It is an undoubted fact that during the past four decades there has been much blending of the two distinct systems of civilisation, that of ancient Japan and that of Europe and America. But the effect of Western civilisation on Japanese life and institutions is more conspicuous in respect of external things than in respect of thoughts, sentiments and tastes. There are some particulars in which before the world we seem to have been quite Occidentalized : (1) Our Government is constitutional ; (2) our military and naval systems are of European model ; (3) though in the compilation of our codes of law ancient customs have been to a certain extent respected, these codes are in the main strictly European ; (4) our system of finance is also alto-

gether Western ; (5) the same may be said, speaking generally, of our system of education. So that, looking at things from the outside only, it might appear as though Western civilisation had altogether supplanted our old system of civilisation. But no sooner do we proceed to go beneath the surface and examine the real sentiments of our people than we find that the changes which have taken place are not half so fundamental as is generally supposed, and it is true to say that old customs and habits of thought have to-day among the bulk of the Japanese people as strong a hold on the mind as they ever had. There are not a few things in which the change that has taken place has been simply one of form. Such, for instance, is the attitude of our people to constitutional government. Few of them have any of the fundamental ideas which characterize constitutionally governed peoples in Western countries.

If we proceed to explore the region of the Japanese mind a little further and ask how far into its recesses Western science or Christianity has penetrated, we find that in respect to the great majority of our people the influence exercised by science and Christianity is absolutely nil. There is a certain section of people in whose heads there are scientific or Christian notions, but with the great majority prevailing thoughts and sentiments may be traced to Shintoism, Confucianism or Buddhism (*Shikashi kokumin no daitasū no shisō, konjō wa dō de aru ka to iu to, yahari jūrai no Shintō no kangae to ka, Jukyō no kangae to ka, aruiwa Bukkyō no kangae to ka iu yō na mono ga mada nakanaka anadori-gatui seiryoku wo motte shihai shite oru*). Owing to this state of affairs there is at present great discrepancy between things exterior and things interior in this country. In respect of the former we have imitated Europeans in everything, but our minds are entirely controlled by traditional Japanese thought (*Gaibu wa ekkuri Seiyō wo manete otte mo, naibu wa yahari jūrai no Nihon shisō ga shihai shite oru to iu yō na kikwan wo tei shite oru*). Consequently we witness to-day in every direction the most glaring contradictions and inconsistencies. The notion that Western thought and Japanese thought have been happily blended cannot be entertained by anybody who has

probed the depths of the Japanese mind.

We have a number of Western laws in operation here, but it cannot be said that our people comprehend or appreciate the spirit of those laws. In the whole financial world we see much conflict between old Japanese ideas and ways and Western methods. This accounts for the slow progress we have made in commerce and industry compared with Occidental countries. When we come to consider existing customs, tastes, ideas, morality and religion, we perceive that in modern Japan everything is in a very muddled state. The old and the new do not blend with each other in the way that it is desirable they should do. Perhaps it is too early to expect this to take place. Perhaps, too, there are elements which can never blend.

Now, in reference to the extent to which it is desirable that we should become Occidentalized, there is a wide difference of opinion, ranging between the view that Japan's adoption of Western civilisation is an entire mistake, that she has lost more than she has gained by it, and the view that Japan should become so Europeanized as to be indistinguishable from European nations. The common-sense as well as the most philosophical view to take is that Japan's course lies midway between these two extremes. The staunchest conservatives must admit that modern Japan has benefited much by the ideas she has imported from the West. Even the much-denounced individualism and Christianity* have contributed a good deal towards her development. In this world of ours there is no good without its attendant evil. And so it may happen that with individualism will come extreme forms of Socialism and even Nihilism. Though individualism has doubtless benefited us very much, we do not desire to see it prevailing to an unlimited extent. It seems to us that it might destroy that spirit of loyalty and patriotism on which our very existence as a self-governing nation so much depends. Though some people write very optimistically about

* Dr. Ōtsuka doubtless refers here specially to the secondary influences of Christianity—to education and the like, and ■ its so-called gospel of energy.

our future, I cannot but feel some apprehension in reference to it. Our success in the last two wars we waged was largely owing to the inefficiency and unpreparedness of our adversaries. China and Russia are both very big countries, with immense resources in men and money. But they are both badly governed, and have suffered much from corrupt practices up till now. If in either or both of these countries the Government were to radically change so as to allow of the proper training of huge armies and the building of big fleets, our position in the Far East would at once become very precarious and the most tremendous efforts on our part would be needed to save ourselves from subjugation. Now, to me it seems that the individualism and cosmopolitanism preached by Christianity are principles that in their very nature are subversive of the patriarchal and national solidarity which constitute our safety as a people.*

There can be little doubt we think that Western civilisation and Japanese civilisation will eventually be united. But as yet the harmonising of the two systems has not proceeded very far. Prior to the final blending there will be a tough struggle between the two principles—the patriarchism of Japan and the individualism of the West. The harmonising of the two principles can only be brought about by mutual concessions and compromises. It seems to me it would be a calamity were we to concede too much. The merits of our system are so manifest that to sacrifice

* Cosmopolitanism, were it extensively adopted, would no doubt militate against nationalism. But though professed by a few irresponsible people in every country, no Government acts on it in settling important State affairs. But as regards individualism, which neither originated with Christianity nor is dependant on Christian teaching for its strength, it is, as followed in the West, not at all anti-nationalistic; on the contrary, when a great national crisis comes and soldiers are needed by the myriad, it is where individualism is strongest that men are most eager to die for their country. So the notion that individualism in Japan would destroy Japanese loyalty and patriotism is quite erroneous. Dr. Otaka has evidently misunderstood the real nature of individualism in the West. Has he forgotten what patriotism did in America in the great war between North and South? Has he forgotten what it did in England during the Transvaal War? According to some Japanese writers like Dr. Otaka one might imagine that Japanese patriotism was something unique in the world's record. Only people unacquainted with general history can hold such views.

them for the sake of peace, temporary gains, and the like, would be great folly on our part. What guarantee have we that this will not be done? Who among us are most permeated with the conservative spirit and most anxious to keep Japan as it is to-day? Without hesitation I answer, first and foremost, the military class, and secondly, the agricultural classes. In the views and sentiments of these two classes conservatism has a citadel that is capable of holding out against the attacks of business men and others. If we divide men up according to age, then it is true to say that most Japanese who are above middle age are conservative in their instincts. Among politicians the Government is certainly conservative. It desires to preserve order and it thinks this can best be done by retaining our old traditional respect for the powers that be. Both Shintoism and Confucianism are strongly on the conservative side. All these anti-Occidentalization forces put together undoubtedly possess an enormous amount of strength. They are confronted, however, by powerful counteracting forces—by the sentiments and aspirations of the industrial classes, which are undoubtedly pro-European and progressive. Traders and artisans of all sorts are usually worshippers of foreign methods. The whole business world and the non-official political world in Japan are certainly on the side of Western civilisation and prefer Western thought to Eastern thought. If old men in Japan are conservative, young men agitate for change and reform of all kinds. Christianity is of course on the side of Western civilisation and Western thought generally. Buddhism has not declared itself in a very pronounced manner. It may be said to be sitting on the fence. Seeing that in this country in past times it has identified itself with our patriarchism and nationalism, it ought now to go on doing this. But there is a tendency among certain Buddhists to preach individualism and cosmopolitanism as Christians are doing as a means of propping up a structure that has become rather shaky. Still it is probably true to say that, speaking generally, Buddhism either keeps aloof from the whole question of the type of civilisation Japan should in future adopt or that her influence in the country is too small to be of any account on one side or the

other in the war of principles now going on. Though the people who profess religion throughout the country still form a large body, religion to-day is no longer what it was in the Middle Ages. It can't stand by itself, depending only on its own strength. It must rely on a number of social supports. It has to depend on the favour it is able to win for itself by works of benevolence, charity and the like. It can't afford to hold aloof from the world. It must take part in most things that are going on for the benefit of mankind, or it will be banished from the world.

If we proceed to ask where especially the battle will be fought out between the two conflicting principles—that of Europe and America and that of Old Japan—we reply, in the political world. Here is an issue over which politicians are likely to divide in the future. (*Shōrai no seikai* [政界] *ni wa zehi tomo no daiseitō ga dekite, sore ga mae no ryō shugi ryō seiryoku wo daihyō shite tugaini arasou yō ni naranela naranai. Mata sōban* [sooner or later] *kanarazu so in koto ni naru darō to omowaremasu.*) The present political parties in this country are still in a very crude and undeveloped state. They none of them have any policy worthy of the name, though they discuss after a fashion current political questions. There is a great display of feeling, much personality and an infinite amount of opportunism to be seen among them. But there is absolutely no steady fighting for any great principle or policy. Now that politicians should differ radically as to which of the two systems of civilisation should predominate in this country, our own time-honoured system or that which we have begun to borrow from Europeans but have not by any means wholly adopted, is most natural. Having divided off into conservatives and progressionists, each party would be able to appeal for support to different sections of the public. The issue before the country would be a clear one and the fact that each party was fighting for a great principle would give an importance to its discussions that they have hitherto never possessed. In policy the conservative party would be for limiting the franchise as much as possible, for keeping down expenditure by only undertaking such public works as were absolutely necessary and likely to prove lucrative in the end; agriculture would be stim-

ulated, and in education the chief object in view would be the training of the mind on the lines of the Bushidō. The progressionists would adopt a directly opposite policy. They would work for the extension of the franchise, for the enlargement of Japan's sphere of influence in foreign countries; trade and industry rather than agriculture would be pushed ahead by them; education would be on liberal lines and distinctly utilitarian in type, that is, designed to fit men for the positions they have to fill in the country.

Though politicians have not yet divided off in the way indicated above, educationists and scholars, religious teachers and lecturers on ethics have most certainly done so. This is distinctly observable everywhere. In every social question too that comes up for discussion the inquiry is made:—"Shall we keep to our own special customs and traditions, or shall we imitate Europeans? Is the Western home to be our model, or are we going to keep unaltered the special characteristics of Japanese domestic life? What is to be the position of woman among us? Is it to be that of the woman in America, or is it to be that of the woman in France, England or Germany, or are we going to take our models of feminine excellence and charm from the pages of our own history? In education, in morals, in religion, in philosophy, in art, the relative importance attached to certain characteristics by Occidentals and Orientals respectively differs materially. Two antagonistic principles are striving for the mastery. The majority of our thinkers, consciously or unconsciously, are fighting for the one or for the other.

There is another subject connected with the contest between the two hostile principles that demands our notice. Time forbids my discussing it thoroughly. I refer to the appearance of Socialism in our midst. Socialism is undoubtedly a product of Western civilisation. Speaking generally, it is the outcome of the combined working of the two principles, individualism and cosmopolitanism. But there are various sorts of Socialism, and there is one type that shows considerable affinity to our traditional ideas on the relations of certain classes of the community to each other and to the State. There seem to be signs of the

spread of what is known as State Socialism in this country.* There are some who affirm that this kind of Socialism is a product of Japan and hence deserves an extra amount of support. Be that as it may, that Socialism is to-day exercising great influence in politics, local government and finance seems to be an undoubted fact. So prominent is the position that Socialism is occupying in some quarters that it looks as if it would soon be on a level with the two other principles that are struggling for pre-eminence, Western civilisation and Japanese nationalism, though we cannot think it will permanently occupy such a high rank as this implies. The fact is that Socialism here profits not a little by the contest going on between Japanese civilisation and European civilisation. If the conflicting elements in these two systems are gradually reduced in number and are so modified as to be no longer incapable of being amalgamated, the influence of Socialism in Japan will grow correspondingly less and eventually cease altogether. This result is likely to be witnessed within the next fifty years or so, by which time the vexed question of what type of civilisation Japan is going to adopt will, I take it, have been finally settled.

There are times when one feels as Dr. Nitobe felt when he wrote his "Soul of Japan," and as Lafcadio Hearn felt when he described the moral beauty of Old Japan: one fears that in their conflict with European civilisation our Japanese ideals will be gradually wiped out, that the good and the beautiful as we have known it and loved it will be sacrificed to the coarser forms of modern utilitarianism. One thing appears to me certain, and that is that Japanese civilisation cannot stand alone. Its only chance of perpetuity lies in the possibility of the discovery of a method of blending it with Western civilisation. *Soko de mooshi Nippon shugi to Seiyō shugi no chōwa ga dekinu to sureba, tōte Nippon Shugi bakari de tachi-yukō to iu koto wa watakuashi wa*

* Some have affirmed that Marquis Saionji strongly sympathizes with this movement and that this explains the policy which his Government adopted several years ago in the appropriation of paying concerns of all sorts. State monopoly is a part of State Socialism.

fukanō (不可能) to *shinzuru de arimasu kara*, *Seiyō shugi ga tai-seiryoku wo motte, shakusai wo fūbi* (暴風) *suru yō ni naru mono de arimasu*. "Hence if the blending of Japanese principles with Western principles be deemed an impossibility, since I am of opinion that Japanese principles cannot possibly stand alone, the result must be that Western principles will carry everything before them, the whole of society will bend before them like trees before a mighty wind." When I say that Japanese civilisation cannot stand alone, I do not mean to imply that it will become entirely extinct. It may still appeal to the sentiments of a small section of the nation, but its influence on the destiny of the nation as a whole will be so small as to be imperceptible. In the event of things turning out so, Japan will have cast in her lot once and for all with Europe and America, and her future will then be inseparably bound up with theirs.

This consideration leads us to inquire what is likely to be the future of Western civilisation. On this subject there is a great variety of opinion in the West. There are pessimists who hold that the gigantic structure known as modern civilisation has rotten foundations and is doomed to meet with the fate that befell the great Roman Empire. But there are scholars and philosophers who are equally confident in the opposite direction; who see nothing but stability and durability in existing Western institutions. Of one thing deep thinkers seem sure: the present system of material civilisation can only escape from ending in a terrible cataclysm by the addition to it of spiritual and moral elements that will guide, control and conserve its energy. The moralization of industrialism is a task whose performance becomes pressingly urgent. Is it not possible that Japan may be able to take a prominent part in this work? Can she not help to save Europe and America from the dangers that now beset them? If by blending her civilisation with theirs she can supply the elements of strength and permanence which are now lacking, then her future as well as that of Western nations will be one of increasing prosperity. But if, while receiving from Europe and America much that is good, she takes also much that is distinctly

bad, and, in addition to this, she allows her own fine old system of civilisation to be blotted out of existence, her future destiny cannot be contemplated by any patriotic Japanese with anything but deep solicitude, grave misgiving and profound grief.

CHAPTER VI.

POETRY.

DR. TSUBOUCHI YŪzō's Views.

I now propose to quote the opinions of well-known Japanese writers on a variety of topics connected with modern literary development in this country. Most of these writers, it need hardly be said, have studied English, German or French literature and hence are not without a standard whereby to measure the productions of Japanese authors. I will begin with poetry. The general opinion of those few foreigners who have studied Japanese poetry at all minutely is that neither in form nor in substance does it prove itself to be worthy of much consideration. There are no great thoughts in Japanese poetry, yet it is not without certain charms. From what Japanese scholars have written on the subject of poetry in general and Japanese poetry in particular I will now make some extracts, and I will begin by giving the substance of a lecture delivered at the Tetsugakkan some years ago by Dr. Tsubouchi Yūzō, who is a recognised authority on poetry, Japanese and foreign. The title of the lecture was "The Peculiarities of Two Kinds of Poets." The following is the gist of the Professor's remarks on this subject:—

There is the greatest difference in the literary nervous organisation of what are called the subjective and the objective poets. The poetry of the former is concentrative, that of the latter is diffusive; the writings of the former are stiff and rigid, those of the latter are pliant and flexible. The subjective poet moves of himself. The objective poet waits to be moved by outside influences. To the subjective poet his own mind is the standard of all things. He is decided in his opinions and rejects all theories that do not accord with his convictions. He has few if any doubts. He is dogmatic, prejudiced, unfair to his opponents.

His view of life may be deep, but it is certainly not broad. However extensive his studies, he makes use of no knowledge that does not support and justify his own opinions, and he is averse to following up his disquisitions with a qualifying or an adversative "but." He becomes a pronounced egoist. Of this kind have been the authors of some of the best lyric poems. From this class have come great reformers and the originators of great enterprises. The objective poet draws his inspiration from without. He has no fixed theory or principle to be applied to all the various phases of life and to be used to control his selection of material for embodiment in his poems. To him all nature seems beautiful and he endeavours to describe things as they are. As your enemy there is nothing to fear in him and as your friend nothing to gratify you. He is broad-minded and entirely without selfish interests. He may not reach sublime heights, but he ranges over an extensive area and embodies in his poems a very large number of diverse theories. The writers of the best epic poems were men of this kind. He aims at being logical and hence has to be sparing in his use of language. His language is sterner and more strictly in accordance with fact than that of the subjective poet. The natures of these two kinds of poets are quite different. The subjective poet is sociable and congenial. His views are usually optimistic, the cheerfulness of his own mind is reflected in the nature which he portrays. The objective poet describes nature as it actually is, and easily drifts into pessimism. The subjective poet can be known by his writings. Who that has read Shelley's poems could fail to perceive what manner of man he was? But Scott's poetry, on the other hand, gives no clue to the character of the poet. His writings were purely objective. The greatness of one class of poets (subjective) consists in the heights to which they soar, that of the other, in the extent of area over which they range. Only two poets, in my opinion, have in a conspicuous manner combined height with breadth, have been at once subjective and objective. They are Shakespeare and Goethe, the first more so than the second, probably on account of his freedom from those nineteenth century influences that moulded the mind of Goethe,

THE ABSENCE OF EPIC POETRY IN JAPAN.

Some years ago the *Taiyō* and the *Kokumin no Tomo* (long since defunct) discussed the question whether Japan has any cause for regret that she has no epic poetry. The latter maintained that she has. On this topic the *Taiyō* observed:—What are called epic poems, are not actually suggested by history, though the epic poet often weaves historical materials into his poem. Epic poetry originated with religion. The poet gives a kind of objective reality to certain subjective religious ideas. The part which such poems have played in rendering religions popular is no mean one. The valiant deeds which the heroes of these poems are made to perform are represented as religious service and attain increased distinction thereby. The Aryans are essentially a religious race and with them these poems are common, but the Turanians, to which the Chinese and Japanese belong, have never been subject to strong religious emotions nor permeated with religious ideas. They are essentially a practical-minded race, whose tendency it is to describe events and phenomena in a matter-of-fact way without any of the transformation to which epic poets subject them. The absence of epic poetry in our literature is to be considered as the result of the bent of our race genius. It is in no sense accidental, but the outcome of circumstances over which we have no control. A natural, and not an artificial, method of describing events agrees best with our inherited mental peculiarities. On this the *Waseda Bunyaku* remarked that before the question of whether there is any epic poetry in Japan can be settled the term (叙事詩) *jōjishi* (descriptive poems), which is used as an equivalent of the Greek term *epos*, must be more clearly defined than has been done by the two writers whose views I have just given.

NEW STYLE VERSES.

Dr. Inoue Tetsujirō is one of the best authorities on this class of poetry. Here is an epitome of an essay of his on the subject published some years ago:—What is known among us as the Chinese style of verses is borrowed, and is at the best but

a poor imitation of an original which by no means commends itself to the judgment and taste of educated literary men in modern days. The *Yamato-uta* or *Waka*, on the other hand, whether in form or in the class of thought they are capable of expressing, are not suited to the age in which we live. Modern composers of these verses spend all their energy in trying to put into words the thoughts of the ancients. Their poems are essentially retrospective in character, and hence are entirely out of harmony with the spirit of modern times. The necessity for a new class of poetry being thus urgent, I published, in 1882, a collection of verses, and in the preface to the work I took occasion to predict that in form these poems would be pronounced vulgar and inferior by critics, but that, since all true poetry is spontaneous and unlaboured and often lives despite its novelty of form, if the thoughts expressed were poetical and were rendered clear to readers by means of the new style of writing, the venture I had made would gradually meet with approval and result in the rise of a new school of writers. This forecast has been more than justified. The composers of new style verses have gone on increasing, and the virulent attacks made on what the literary conservatives, the slaves of tradition, regard as an unwarranted innovation, have only tended to increase the public interest in the new movement, which has made such progress that now it is no longer in danger of being crushed by its foes. In consequence of the stir that the advocates of the new style of verses have made in the world, our banner has been borne aloft by persons whose notions on the real nature of the poetry we wish to see written are of the crudest and vaguest description. They have prefixed the title "New Style Verses" to a large amount of literary rubbish. That being the case, I feel it incumbent on me to define what characteristics verses should bear to merit the title chosen by me to describe the new class of poetry published in my 新体詩抄, *Shintaisishō*. The essential qualities of the new style of verses I take to be the following:—

- (1) *Freedom as to form.* They may take any form the writer chooses to give them.
- (2) *Freedom as to subject, length and scope.*

The want of this freedom is one of the great causes of the poverty

of thought in the *Waka*. (3) *Freedom as to the choice of language*. Our native verses have to be written in archaic Japanese without any admixture of Chinese or modern colloquial. To confine oneself to this language now renders it impossible to express modern ideas or to describe the many interesting phenomena of the age in which we live. In ancient times mental science had not been developed to any extent, hence the terms used in archaic verse to describe states of thought and feeling lack the precision, expressiveness and general lucidity which ought to characterise the language of modern poetry. But when I say there should be freedom in the choice of words, I do not mean that resort should be had to low colloquial. It is customary with a certain class of writers to despise all colloquial as inferior. That is a mistake. There is no inferiority about high-class colloquial, and it is often found to be far more expressive than any of the so-called classical forms of speech. It is most desirable that verses should be written in language generally understood. Thus will they reach the hearts of a wide circle of readers. Hitherto it has been the boast of verse writers that they have written for the select few. Alleged obscurity they have attributed to lack of education on the part of readers, and have congratulated themselves on the fact that they occupy a platform unapproached by the vulgar crowd. But the time is past for that exclusiveness. Poetry, if it is to exercise an elevating influence, must be adapted to the understanding of ordinary men and women of the world. The language permissible in the *yamato-uta* is not suitable for the expression of the deepest and strongest emotions. It is on the whole more adapted to be an organ of the thoughts and feelings of women rather than those of men. The reasons given above are sufficient to encourage the advocates of the new style of verse not to relax their efforts to save Japanese poetry from the fate of so many of our ancient arts and accomplishments—neglect and lasting oblivion.

But, as I said before, the new enterprise is in danger of being wrecked by those that pretend to be its best friends. Many of the verses called "New Style Verses" are unworthy of the name. They show signs of being nothing more than an

attempt to pass off old goods under a new name. One would think that the failure of writers all the world over to imitate the writings of the ancients should convince Japanese of the futility of the attempt. Poetical writers in the Middle Ages tried again and again to imitate Horace, Ovid, and Virgil, but always failed. The same thing has been going on in India and China, with similar results. For the new style of verses to live and make their mark as literature, it is essential that they should not consist of mere empty language, but be laden with nineteenth century thought. To the criticism of the literary organs which undertake to pronounce an opinion on the "New Style Verses" I have for some time past turned a deaf ear. For the most part it consists of the flippant utterances of writers who are quite incompetent to pronounce an opinion on the question at issue. There is nothing to be apprehended from this class of opposition. Its existence is a proof of the strength of the new movement.

Thus far Dr. Inoue. The general opinion of literary men in Japan seems to be that the new verses have not yet shown signs of any right to a permanent place in Japanese literature. I myself have read a fair number of them. It has always seemed to me that with a few exceptions, as regards the thoughts expressed, they differ little from the ordinary run of Japanese poems. In order to give readers some idea of their form I quote one from the *Teikoku Bungaku* :—

HOPE.

*Oki no shio kaze fuki arete,
Shiranami itaku hoyuru toki,
Yuzuki nami ni shizumu toki,
Kurayami yomo wo osou toki,
Sora no anata ni waga fune wo
Michibiku hoshi no hikari ari.*

The meaning of which is, "When far out at sea the wind rages and the white waves roar; when the evening moon sinks beneath the waves and darkness reigns everywhere, yonder appears, to guide my ship, the light of a star." But I am not at all sure that these lines would pass muster with Dr. Inoue. The

question pertinent to ask is, have modern Japanese any thoughts that can be better expressed by resorting to a new style of poetry than by employing ordinary prose? Do purely poetical ideas of a high order exist in the minds of modern Japanese scholars? If not, then there is no call for a new style of poetry.

HUMOROUS VERSES.

On the subject of humorous verses, I translate from the *Teikoku Bungaku* * the following remarks:—Japanese poetic speech has words adapted to the expression of the most lofty thoughts and beautiful ideas; and there is nothing amiable or charming which cannot be put into language by the skilful writer. With this richness in terms referring to the higher planes of thought, there are not wanting expressions well calculated to excite the laughter of women and children. But there is to-day a grave deficiency in high-class humorous language adapted to amuse refined and educated minds. This defect, however, is a characteristic of modern literature only. In the Tokugawa era and the age that preceded it, high class poetry of the humorous kind was constantly produced. Although one or two leading journals have made an attempt to cultivate the talent of humorous verse-writing, according to all competent judges they have signally failed, the modern *Kyōshi* being quite unworthy of being ranked with the best ancient specimens of 狂歌, *Kyōka* or *Kyōshi*. Modern attempts at poking fun in verse are nothing more than puns, *Wortspiel*, or what the Germans call *Mutterwitz*, antithesis. They are not worthy of the name of humour. No modern successor of the great 蜀山, Shokusan, exists. As an illustration of what is possible in this line take that verse of Shokusan's which runs thus:—

"*Kimiga kokoro iyo iyo ware ni hodakenu wa,*

"*Munubu no Kami wo inori sugita ka?*"

The reference is to a lady who has not responded to the advances of a lover. She is represented as having prayed so fervently that she might be bound to some one that she feels as

* This magazine is a Tōkyō Imperial University organ.

though she were actually bound, and is unable to open her heart even to the man who loves her. "Is your increasing reluctance to relax (even) to me to be attributed to the fact that you have prayed overmuch to the god who binds?" This says the *Teikoku Bungaku* is something more than a skilful choice of words. It is the idea rather than the words in which it is expressed that is so pleasing. Shokusan was a thinker. Hence his verses occupy a different hemisphere to the modern contributors to the poetry columns of our daily newspapers.

NATURE AS SEEN BY JAPANESE POETS.

On this subject a writer in the *Teikoku Bungaku* expresses the following sentiments:—It is customary in collections of poems to find them arranged according to the four seasons, but the subjects of these poems are invariably natural objects and natural processes, or the feelings and sentiments suggested by them. The stormy days that preceded the Tokugawa era for a time diverted the attention of Japanese poets from nature, but soon after the ushering in of a reign of peace, our national love of nature reasserted itself and, though what are known as the *haikai* (17 syllable verses) almost superseded the *yamato-uta*, in respect of the subjects which fascinated our chief muses there was no change. But it is important to point out that the ideas respecting nature entertained by our poets are nothing much to boast of. In their study of nature the minds of our bards are passive rather than active. They hear what nature says, but do not make her talk after the fashion of Europeans, who subject all nature to their wishes, now converting natural forces like electricity into transmitters of their thoughts, now calling spirits from nature's hidden recesses to give them a glimpse of the marvels and sublimity that pervade those regions. The standpoint from which we regard nature is by no means an advantageous one. Our ideas lack the decision and the penetration that characterize those of Western poets. What we must strive after is to render nature more active, that is, to make her say more than she has been wont to do. We are deficient in the mental qualities required for a proper study of nature. The

philosophic view of nature with which readers of Occidental poetry are so familiar is wanting here. With all our modern love of nature, through inability to interpret her we fall far short of the bards of by-gone days. In the Nara age there were Hitomaro and Akahito, in the Heian age there was Teurayuki, in the Tokugawa era there was Bashō; but in the Meiji era there is no poet who can be regarded as an interpreter of nature.

JAPANESE POETRY SAID TO BE DEFECTIVE IN
IMPORTANT QUALITIES.

Some little time ago a writer in the *Teikoku Bungaku* alleged that Japanese poetry displays "shallowness of feeling, lack of imagination and absence of the meditative spirit." Poetry to be worth anything, says this writer, must display strong feeling—intense love or hatred—or must deal in wild fancies and imaginary combinations of men and things for the sake of the effect they produce on the minds of the readers.

"Ye have left your souls on earth.

"Ye have souls in heaven too!

"Double-lived in regions new!"

wrote Keats. The poet must deal with two worlds. While accommodating himself to the wants and the circumstances of this mundane sphere, he must soar to heavenly heights and gaze on the beauty of a world to which the vulgar crowd have no access. "To me it seems," concludes this writer, "that all Japanese poets are unworthy of comparison with their Western confreres."

ŌWADA TATEKI'S *Uta Manabi*.

A large number of books containing collections and explanations of Japanese verses are to be found on the bookstalls, but I doubt whether any of them are worthy of comparison with Mr. Ōwada Tateki's *Uta Manabi*, which has gone through many editions. Mr. Ōwada has devoted the whole of his life to the study of Japanese literature. On the *Yamato Kotoba* his dictionary is one of the best in existence. I myself have had

it in constant use for many years. To any foreigner wishing to make a study of Japanese poetry the *Uta Manabi* may be safely recommended, as the author has made a special point of clearness of arrangement and explanation. By his manner of treatment Mr. Ōwada turns the study of poetry into the study of the Japanese language used in the days when what may be regarded as the standard verses were penned. He puts before us in a clear and concise manner the various developments which the language underwent in order to serve as a suitable medium for expressing poetic thought. There are not a few foreign students of Japanese who have reached the conclusion that the study of Japanese poetry for the sake of the ideas expressed in ancient verses is bound to end in disappointment. Compared to Shakespeare, Goethe, Byron and Milton the Japanese poet is nowhere. In Japan the imagination took no lofty flights, and as to the serious earnest curiosity that led our great poets to attempt the exploration of the hidden truths of the universe, in this country it did not exist. There is no great depth in Japanese poetry. Japan's verse-writers, however, were intense admirers of nature's many beauties. This reveals itself in the headings under which Mr. Ōwada arranges his poems: "New Year Verses, Spring, Summer, Autumn, Winter." Then among the miscellaneous subjects there are, "Heaven, Earth, Wind, Rain, the Stars, the Sun, the Moon, the Sea, An Old Bridge, One's Native Village, Friends, Dress," etc., etc. Of what we may call strictly abstract subjects there are next to none. It is perhaps true to say that a certain pensiveness of tone, in some cases amounting to pessimism, pervades all Japanese poetry. But in this respect Western poetry taken as a whole differs little from Eastern. Mr. Ōwada tells us in his introduction that he has purposely omitted from his collection verses on whose interpretation there has been much controversy. These, he thinks, if reproduced in his book would have bewildered readers. He has also omitted modern verses, with two or three exceptions. Mr. Ōwada discusses a number of interesting topics, beginning with an explanation of the connection of poetry with singing. He is of opinion that what is known as *gagen* (classical language) received its

highest development prior to the Kamakura era. And most of the *gagen* are to be found in the verses that have come down to us. But certain *gagen* were seldom used except in prose writing. Mr. Ōwada gives a list of these words. Some words that are used in the titles of poems are never used in the poems themselves. Such are *tenshō* (meteorological phenomena), *gyōfu*, a fisherman, *sankyō*, 山 蓑, and some 20 or 30 others. Among words for congratulation, there are many that have two distinct forms, one for poetry and one for prose. Of these and many other freaks of ancient and mediæval literature Mr. Ōwada gives a minute account. On those affiliated words known as *jukugo*, as used in verse-making, his remarks are very instructive. With the Chinese *jukugo* one soon gets familiar. The rules governing the use of the poetic *jukugo* are quite as strict as those which are followed by all accurate prose writers. Mr. Ōwada points out that the term *zokugo* was originally applied to all language not used in poetry. It now usually bears the meaning of colloquial as distinguished from written Japanese. To the very low class colloquial found in certain verses that have come down to us Mr. Ōwada applies the term *hiyo*, 卑語. He rightly points out that much of the charm of Japanese verses depends on the impression they make on the ear when recited as well as on the skilful selection of words. There is little connected with Japanese verse-making that is not fully treated in Mr. Ōwada's volume, which covers over 1,700 pages and sells at 1 yen 50 sen per copy.

VARIOUS KINDS OF BALLADS.

In 1897, the *Taiyō* collected and published a number of ballads under eleven headings. These were:—(1) *Nōji-uta*, agricultural songs, used by farmers when at their various occupations; (2) *kōji-uta*, songs used by labourers when working together, to put energy into their work, such as are heard when building is going on; (3) *fūdo-uta*, songs founded on provincial sayings or customs, or local events; (4) *yūgi-uta*, songs used by children in various games and pastimes; (5) *komori-uta*,

songs used by nurses; (6) *bonodori-uta*, songs that accompany dancing at the annual Bon festival; (7) *jinji-uta*, sacred songs, used in worship or in connection with religious festivals; (8) *shugi-uta*, congratulatory songs, used at weddings, &c.; (9) *kikori-uta*, wood-choppers' songs; (10) *juna-uta*, songs used by sailors, (11) *nago-uta*, songs used by lads in charge of packhorses.

CHAPTER VII.

ART.

A RETROSPECT.

Reviewing the progress of Japanese art in 1898, the *Ten-chijin* wrote: Art in the Meiji era may be conveniently divided into three periods. The first period was one of disintegration and destruction, lasting from 1868 to 1877. At the beginning of the Meiji era Japan's best artists suddenly found themselves deprived of all the support their profession had enjoyed for 1,300 years. Under the Tokugawa Government they were specially favoured. They received regular stipends, were exempted from all taxes and enjoyed other privileges. After the Revolution they found themselves stranded and their condition was pitiable to behold. In order to eke out a living some turned to other occupations, some tried to learn foreign art. In 1873, at the Vienna Exhibition Japanese painting received favourable notice and this encouraged artists of the old school to renew their efforts to win popular favour. The next period lasted from 1878 to 1887; this may be described as a conservative era. During this period Japanese artists did little more than regain the ground that had been lost during the previous ten years. But mere conservatism cannot hold away over men's minds for any length of time. So in 1888 it gave place to a new influence. There arose a school of artists who felt confident that it was possible to blend the old and the new, to harmonise what is Oriental with what is Occidental. This last period, covering the third decade of the Meiji era, may be designated "the age of development." The pictures exhibited at the Third National Exhibition all revealed the new tendency. From this time forward we may ex-

pect marked progress. Already there are signs of this. Among the pictures exhibited last year, according to competent judges, there were some that showed great talent. The mixture of styles and the general chaos in the art world of which so many complain is in our view the unavoidable prelude of the cosmos that is to be evolved. The creation of the new world has commenced and will go on.

LAFACDIO HEARN ON JAPANESE ART.

An article written in English by Lafcadio Hearn and translated for the *Taishō* in 1897 was made the text of much discussion in the Japanese press for many months. It states so clearly and concisely what are considered to be the leading characteristics of Japanese art and sets down all that there is to be said in its favour that no apology is needed for furnishing a short epitome of it here. The Japanese title of the article is *Nihon-Kwaigwa-ron* (Japanese Paintings) :—At a meeting of the Japan Society held in London last year, Mr. Edward Strange read a paper on Japanese painting in which he spoke in 'laudatory terms' of the peculiarities of Japanese art. This evoked a great deal of opposition and a warm discussion ensued. Among other things it was said that no such woman as is sketched by the Japanese artist was ever seen. The question caused so much excitement that the Japanese Minister, Mr. Katō Takaaki, in order to quiet the feelings of the combatants, turned the discussion into another channel. The objections to Mr. Strange's views were evidently founded on want of initiation into the mysteries of Japanese art. This art requires special study. My own experience was that at first Japanese painting seemed anything but attractive, but after two years' study I began to see something charming in it, and from that time it grew on me until it appeared no other than marvellous. A Japanese studying Western art would no doubt undergo a similar experience. The characteristics of Japanese art which have special merit I will now endeavour to indicate :—(1) The relation of individual objects to a given type, and the subjection of special characteristics to an all-pervading nature are invariably observed. By a few

clever strokes of the brush an insect or a flower is made at once to declare its identity and to show its relation to the family to which it belongs. By sketching some characteristic property, or some special form of activity, the Japanese artist enables one to identify the object he represents without going to the trouble of minutely examining its structure or form. Rather than nature herself he prefers to embody the idea which she suggests. (2) In Japanese portrait painting, in accordance with that strong national trait which makes the suppression and concealment of emotion meritorious, there is no attempt to represent passing states of feeling. From these pictures it is difficult to decide whether a person is old or young, good or bad, much less the state of feeling of the individual represented. The high regard in which an absolutely passionless state is held may be traced to Buddhism. (3) In ordinary foreign painting great minuteness is aimed at, but the Japanese think more of general effect. Both styles have their advantages, though to carry minuteness to an extreme is considered vulgar even in the West. What are called *Ukiyoe* convey to my mind a most vivid impression of passing scenes, but this impression is not caused by the faithfulness of these sketches to details—by their reproduction of actually existing objects—but by a certain subtle suggestiveness which they possess. All high class art deals with the ideal rather than the real. The finest productions of Greece were founded on religious, or at any rate on transcendental, conceptions. There is a point where the art that is the result of special study and the art that comes from intuition meet, resulting in the creation of beauty of a very high order. Both Greek and Japanese fine art alike remind us of the idea of Herbert Spencer, that expression is form in the process of creation. But Japanese imitations of art may perhaps be better described as generalisations of objects, as bringing out prominently some universal properties, rather than embodying form in the process of assuming its permanent shape and character. (4) Greek art and Japanese art have much in common. They both aim at representing objects as they should be rather than as they are. The Greeks expressed their ideas respecting the gods and

the aspirations of the human race. The Japanese represent the simple unsophisticated happiness of beings who live in harmony with nature, but portray also the superiority of self-control and observance of the laws that govern society. Modern Western art, which is occupied with present modes of life, with the greed of money-seekers, and kindred subjects, is not only far removed from the sublime idealism of the ancient Greek, but is inferior to the Japanese standard. (5) Much depends on the proclivities of the critic in all art criticism. It takes years to become accustomed to an entirely new style. I have often been amused and instructed by listening to the unvarnished opinions of Japanese children in reference to our Western pictures. Appreciation of anything valuable in the world of art involves years of laborious study. This fact is constantly overlooked by persons who undertake to pronounce an opinion on Oriental art.

THE LATE DR. TOYAMA ON THE FUTURE OF JAPANESE PAINTING.

Professor Toyama delivered a lecture on Japanese painting before the Meiji Bijutsu kai on the 27th of April, 1890, which was afterwards published in pamphlet form and distributed among his friends. The view Professor Toyama takes may be described as the *via media* between the ultra-foreign and the ultra-national school of writers on Japanese art. His opinions are those of a large and growing number of thinkers.

I have read a great many of Dr. Toyama's lectures, but none that has interested me so much as this on Japanese art. The oratorical mould in which the lecture is cast renders some parts of it a trifle discursive, but it nevertheless abounds with solid thought, is full of apt allusions and illustrations, and is characterised throughout by an amount of common sense rarely met with in discourses on vexed questions of this kind. Dr. Toyama did well to confine his attention to the future of Japanese art, instead of repeating oft-sung requiems over the faded glories of the past, over the right hands that have lost their cunning. With much of what he writes I am not disposed to

agree, but at the same time he represents a school of thinkers whose opinions deserve respect. Moreover, the tests which he applies to modern art are such as it must be prepared to undergo if it is to compete with Western art, and the sooner its promoters thoroughly recognize this the better for its progress.

The lecture opens with the remark that there is an extreme want of definiteness about the notions entertained on this topic. Speaking generally, writers on art have hitherto consisted of those who laud foreign painting at the expense of Japanese, or Japanese at the expense of foreign. The more conspicuous differences between Japanese and foreign painting Professor Toyama pronounces to be a love of decoration in the former, a love of simplicity in the latter. The advocates of Japanese painting boast that it excels the foreign style in representing the ideas which objects suggest, rather than the objects themselves. To this their opponents reply that a faithful representation of natural objects is all that is required of a painter. The ideas which may be associated with these objects he is not in any way responsible for. All such talk, Professor Toyama maintains, does not assist one in arriving at a correct view of the question. No indiscriminate condemnation of either native or foreign painting is warranted by facts. Half of the generalisations one meets with on the subject are mere idle sentimentality. If, 'caving vague generalities, a practical man proceeds to examine minutely modern Japanese paintings, the first thing that strikes him is the want of distinctiveness in the subjects chosen for representation. This, Dr. Toyama remarks, was strikingly illustrated by the exhibition of oil paintings held last year at Shinobazuno-ike. Poverty of conception characterised the pictures exhibited on that occasion. The same may be said of the Fine Art Department of the Industrial Exhibition now going on. The variety of conception displayed by the exhibitors is within prescribed limits. If a goddess does not ride on a dragon, she rides on a fish; if a plant-seller is not represented, then it is a vegetable seller; if not a battle, then something very like it, dog-hunting on horseback. Advocates of the native style and the foreign style alike fail to show by their productions wherein they excel.

Both schools confine themselves to hackneyed subjects.

Professor Toyama next proceeds to point out the weak point in the prevailing method of choosing subjects. The subjects of oil paintings usually consist either of buildings, natural scenery, or historical events, or they are purely fanciful. In the execution of the paintings there is little evidence that the imagination has been at work. Insipid and lifeless, they are what they are, and no more—they suggest nothing. In foreign countries it has been customary to represent certain moral qualities by pictures. The same practice, to a limited extent, prevailed in ancient Japan. Modern painters have made no attempts in this line. They have simply tried to imitate the pictures of the ancients. Such pictures as Kwannon riding on a dragon are imitations of what already exists and not new creations. We do not deny, says Dr. Toyama, that some painters have shown a desire to produce works of imagination, but it is impossible to preserve one's gravity while looking at their productions. The fact is that modern Japanese painters lack the inspiration essential to successful execution. They are not in thorough sympathy with their subjects. The insipidity of their paintings is the result of a mental state. Their minds do not see, hence their brushes cannot portray. They attempt to paint a beautiful woman without ever seeing one, they attempt to represent a demon whom they have never encountered, or a supernatural being whose influence they have never felt. Hence their failure. Hence the forms they represent lack those characteristics which the master hand knows how to give. Modern artists paint without an ideal. To paint a Venus there must be higher conceptions of beauty than are suggested by any individual woman. The ideal must invariably far excel the actual. To produce pictures of forms whose perfections exceed what human eyes have ever seen, to make such pictures life-like and speaking, to impart to them a symmetry and a grace that have never been found in any man or woman born—this is real genius. For achieving work of this kind the whole soul of the artist must be inspired with his subject; the forms he is to represent must be such as sleeping or waking he can never forget. Professor Toyama explains that

what is desired in modern Japanese painters is not necessarily that they should invent altogether new subjects, but that they should cultivate the power of endowing old subjects with new imaginative charms. He cites a passage from Ruskin relating to the numerous noted Madonnas that have been painted in Europe, each taking a Jewess as their subject, but each the product of individual genius and embodying local æsthetic conceptions. It is necessary for intelligibility and appreciation that a painting should have some foundation in fact, that is, should originate with some actual thing, but it is no less essential that it should possess distinct characteristics of its own—an individuality that commends itself to all competent observers, an impress fresh from the artist's heart.

Professor Toyama next proceeds to argue that though paintings should originate in real objects, it is unnecessary that they should represent the objects in their ordinary form. The work the painter has to perform is to represent the ideas which he and others associate with objects. It is necessary to a vivid representation of an object that the artist, and those for whose eyes the picture is designed, should believe that the thing represented actually exists. The man who paints a dragon, he who represents heaven or hell, he who would paint a ghost, must be persuaded in his own mind that these things actually exist. It would be the essence of hypocrisy, Professor Toyama thinks, if the artist were to paint a thing in which he himself did not believe, with the object of making others believe in it. The corollary to this dictum is that for real successful modern painting a minute acquaintance with the spirit of the age, with the opinions men hold on things in general, is absolutely essential. The scepticism of modern days on so many subjects that lend themselves to pictorial representation is doubtless responsible to a certain extent for the poverty of conception which characterises Japanese modern painting. That men must be affected themselves if they wish to affect others is a principle which will hold good to the end of time.

The next point on which Professor Toyama insists is the uselessness of trying to produce anything valuable unless under

the influence of strong excitement. The emotional side of the painter's mind alone appears on the canvas. It is because most of the works of modern Japanese painters have been executed in a mechanical manner, because they are so devoid of those strong and fine feelings which underlie and constitute the charm of European paintings, that they create so little interest. They possess a certain decorative beauty, but beyond that have no merit whatever. The advice Dr. Toyama gives to modern painters is to paint only in their inspired moments, and to attempt to paint only what they themselves believe to exist. With the object of showing the importance of this principle, he quotes a number of instances from the history of painters, poets, and reformers whose success all originated from their being men of deep convictions.

Dr. Toyama next discusses the various subjects chosen for pictorial representation in the history of art throughout the world. These have shifted with the change in men's ideas as to the relative importance of things. For many centuries religion occupied in men's minds a position second to none. Hence in those days the best pictures were all on religious subjects. Japan was no exception to the rule. One of the most eminent men of ancient times, Ono-no-Takamura, painted Buddhist divinities. And though it is true that Kose-no-Kanaoka painted pictures of noted scholars, his best works were on religious subjects. The chief objects chosen for representation in that time were Buddhist divinities, such as Chizosan, Amida Butsu, Rakan Bishamon, Fudô, Kwannon, and Hotei. It is true that certain ancient painters, as Moromitsu, Takajoshi, Takachika, Mitsunaga, Tsumetaka, Kunitake, Nagataka, and Yoshimitsu, chose scenery, public buildings, the human body or phases of human life, trees, animals and the like; but they were at the same time all skilled in painting religious subjects. As the age progressed secular subjects took the place of religious everywhere. All painting has followed the rule mentioned above, viz., men paint that which most interests them. The special character of the production of any given period may invariably be traced to the prevalence in that age of certain definite notions on the

subjects of representation. The nude figures of Greece, for instance, may be traced to the high regard in which the Greeks held human beings, to their conviction that there was nothing more beautiful than the human form. This beauty, it must be admitted, was only appreciated by the highly educated, and hence it was only to the select few that the Greek painters and sculptors appealed. Turning to Japan, with the exception of the picture of the Deva kings standing before the Buddhist temple, we find no love of representing the naked human figure among Japanese painters. The numerous influences which led the Greeks to regard the human form, human feats of strength, valour or craft with such veneration, were not present here. The Japanese taste lay in another direction. The lovely flowers, the varied scenery with which every part of the country abounds, the happy prospects held out by the Buddhist faith, and the æsthetic pleasures of the refined Confucian sage—these were the things that found most favour with Japanese artists. But as in Greece so in Japan the pictures of the best artists only appealed to the cultured taste of a select few who had been educated up to an appreciation of their merits.

Professor Toyama next considers what subjects are likely to interest modern lovers of art. He maintains that the days for painting dragons, demons, divinities, hell, and heaven are past, since men no longer believe in these things. The only subjects which will interest modern lovers of art are natural scenery, natural objects, events of history, and phases of human life. Among these the last is to be preferred. The changes that all aspects of human life undergo are so rapid and involve so many new combinations that they offer to the artist in search of subjects an almost endless variety. This is specially the case in Japan, where the transition from a native to a foreign civilization is in process. The mistake that modern painters in Japan make is that they cling to the subjects in which they are excelled by the ancients and which no longer command the attention accorded to them in days gone by. However earnestly a modern painter may try, the probability of his painting an eagle that shall excel that of Soga Chōkwan is very slight. It

is not to be expected that the modern painters of natural scenery will approach Sesshū and Tanyū, or that those whose specialty is fishes and birds will surpass Ōkyo. No modern monkey will be more life-like than that painted by Sosen. To surpass the ancients on their own lines is an ideal which the most sanguine can hardly expect to see realised. One condition of success, then, is to strike out in a new line: to paint under the influence of the sentiment of the age in which we live, to represent the stages of history through which social and political life is now passing.

The lecturer next proceeds to define more precisely the kind of subjects which should occupy the attention of modern painters. Paintings may represent forms or states, vital activity, emotion or thought. The paintings of Japan in the past have been confined to the first three of these. The representation of thought has been very rare. Certain single ideas have formed the subjects of pictures, but not even then *de novo*—only after a copied model. The thoughts represented lack subtlety and complexity. They have only been surface thoughts, such as would arise in the minds of the most ordinary observers. Of this kind are the fierceness displayed by the eagle, or the flourishing of weapons in the moment of battle. Even the most skilful productions of the Tosa school have done no more than portray commonplace ideas and emotions. Japanese painters are, Dr. Toyama affirms, still in the receptive stage: they have yet to reach the conceptive. Modern painters must be urged to cultivate the power of originality. Without this they can never claim any reputation worthy of the name, they cannot be regarded as other than a school of copyists.

Dr. Toyama next gives in detail illustrations of what he means by representing thought in painting. He suggests six subjects which, in the hands of a skilful artist, ought to yield material for the successful embodiment of a variety of ideas; such a variety, indeed, that in some cases he seems to be thinking of a panorama rather than a painting. The first subject consists of a contrast between the vain pomp of the mausoleum of Ieyasu at Nikkō and the native simplicity of the tomb of Yoritomo at Kamakura. The rustic and antique beauties of eight-hundred

years growth that mark the last resting place of the Minamoto chief and the numerous associations attached to the place are eloquently described and their fitness for pictorial representation is clearly pointed out.

The second subject suggested is the interview between Hideyoshi and Ieyasu, when the former was handing over the kingdom to the latter. The grave issues that hung on that event, the peculiar complexity of the thoughts with which the one hero regarded the character and the actions of the other, constitute, in Dr. Toyama's opinion, an excellent subject for a picture.

The third scene suggested is that of a newly cut road where earth and gravel have been lately laid and consequently deep ruts are made, into this a cart drawn by a lean horse and loaded with heavy bricks enters; whereupon various comic efforts are made to rescue the animal from its position.

The subject of the fourth scene is the death of a *jinrikisha* coolie at a railway station from heart disease after a spell of over-exertion. The incident is as vividly painted in words as it could be in colours, and it leaves an unpleasant impression on our minds, for among the chief actors are two foreigners who have been riding in the *jinrikisha*. These walk away totally unconcerned about the fate of the poor coolie,—the very last thing that foreigners would do under such circumstances—and the comrades of the man gather round his prostrate form, while the coins to earn which he sacrificed his life lie scattered beside his corpse. Presently an old man creeps up, and the crowd parts sympathetically to let him pass to the body of his son, who has perished in a filial effort to support his aged parent. It is an awful subject, and the painter who could do it justice must be indeed a great artist.

The fifth scene I will describe as far as possible in Professor Toyama's own words. "The time was the beginning of Meiji; the season the middle of winter, the moon shone brightly in a cloudless sky, her beams seemed full of tender compassion, as late one night I crossed the Ryōkokubashi. Gloomy looked the swiftly flowing stream as it gurgled along beneath the bridge.

The noise of passing footsteps had almost ceased when the clock struck twelve, and there was nothing to break the stillness of the frosty night but the sound of the rushing water and the distant notes of an *ammon*'s whistle. I paused a moment to enjoy the quiet, when suddenly my attention was arrested by a peculiar sound like that of contact between a human body and the timbers of the bridge. Some one was evidently going to commit suicide; but no, it was not self-destruction that was intended, but the destruction of another, and that other a helpless babe. The would-be perpetrator of the fell deed was a man. Near him stood a child who, seeing the murderer's purpose, seized the sleeve of his coat and in a frenzy of agony begged him to spare the infant's life. In the heavens above stood the moon, gazing in tenderness on the cruel spectacle; beneath flowed the cold emotionless water. The struggle which I have described was between a father and his son. Overcome by poverty, moral darkness had overtaken the father, and as he lay by the roadside the fiendish idea of getting rid of a useless encumbrance had taken possession of him, and here he was about to act on it. What a scene—the resolute father attempting to carry out his purpose, the son, regardless of his want of strength, trying his utmost to prevent the cruel deed! A fiend and an angel in deadly conflict, and the baby's life hanging in the balance meanwhile."

The sixth and last scene suggested by Professor Toyama, described in his own words, with a few abbreviations, is as follows:—"On a certain morning not long ago there were to be seen wending their way through one of the streets of a great city, a young man pulling a heavily laden cart and a young woman pushing behind, with an infant tied to her back. 'What a sight! A cruel man to allow such a thing! Hard, indeed is the lot of woman in Japan! Forced to push a cart and carry a child on her back besides! A barbarous country is this, and a set of brutes are the men that inhabit it!' Such might have been the comments of some passing foreigner. Late that night on the outskirts of the town a young man was to be seen cheerfully dragging along a cart that appeared to be empty. Closer

inspection showed, however, that it was occupied. Inside it sat a weary mother suckling her infant-babe and looking as though she were in paradise. It was she who in the early morning had toiled along behind the cart. Can any words of mine describe the change? It was a case of hell in the morning and heaven at night. Who will dare to say that the men of Yamato have no feeling. Has this young man clothed in coarse raiment, returning late at night with his family in the cart, anything to be ashamed of when compared with the princes and princesses who roll through our streets in their grand carriages? What happiness is equal to that which has been won by the sweat of the brow? You say Japanese customs are barbarous. Here is one that I would fain proclaim throughout the universe. Here is a sight that well illustrates the difficulties with which our labouring classes have to contend in the struggle for life. Here is a sight that shows how great are the burdens which some of our women have to bear. Here is a sight which reveals the stuff of which our labouring men are made. Here is a sight which explains to us how it is that the Japanese empire has existed down to the present day. Surely the painting of such a scene is worthy of the most skilful artist's brush."

It is easy to see from these suggestions that Professor Toyama's ideas of pictorial art soar to a realm considerably higher than that from which Japanese painters are usually content to draw their inspiration. I trust, but greatly doubt, that he will find some of his countrymen capable of ascending to the heights of his fancy.

The Professor concludes his eloquent lecture by reminding his hearers that there are hundreds of such scenes as those he has described. If modern artists will but penetrate beneath the surface of things, will but carry about with them minds capable of seeing the romance that lies there, they will never have to complain of dearth of subjects. The true artist is he who, like the poet, can see in nature and the common affairs of daily life characteristics which ordinary men fail to discern. Such an artist is capable of casting the fervour and the subtlety of his own emotions and thoughts over the objects he represents and

can show the common herd that there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in their philosophy. It is the imagination to body forth the form of things unknown that the Japanese artist so sadly needs. If he had this, he would not lack the power of transferring them to his canvas, of giving to "airy nothings a local habitation and a name." The vitality of art, as Professor Fenollosa clearly pointed out in a series of excellent lectures delivered years ago, and as Professor Toyama subsequently repeated requires that it should be in touch with the time, should represent the life and thoughts of the artist's era, not the dead emotions and moribund traditions of a buried past. Even here, however, it is necessary to refrain from too sweeping a verdict. Many of the scenes and objects most sympathetically and vividly portrayed by immortal artists have been laid in or taken from the realm of mythology and fairy-land. To say that one must believe in the actual existence of demons, dragons, Deva Kings, and ogres in order to paint them successfully, is simply to deny the artists' poetic right of putting into concrete form his conceptions of passion, majesty, supernatural strength, and infernal wickedness. If we have ceased to believe in a hell of everlasting torture, in personal devils with tails and hoofs, in angels that sweep through space more swiftly than lightning, and in fairies that dance in magic circles by moonlight, we should still crown with laurels and acclamations a Dante, a Milton, a Shakespeare, or a Raphael.

JAPANESE COMMENTS ON THE COMMON FOREIGN OPINION OF JAPANESE ART.

The October *Tsūyō* ■ 1897 had an article on the views of foreigners respecting Japanese art, of which I give an epitome. The Italian Minister of Education, when speaking at the opening ceremony of a Fine Art Exhibition, observed that in order to appreciate the art of any given country it ■ necessary that the student should be acquainted with the literature of that country, otherwise he will fail to perceive what are the ideas to which that art gives expression. The same may be said of the study

of poetry. A Japanese student of Dante who is ignorant of the history of Italian thought in the 14th century cannot possibly appreciate the great poet's utterances. It is not surprising that European art critics should fail to apprehend the characteristics in which Japanese art excels. These remarks the *Taiyō* made the text of the following observations. How far it is possible for a foreigner to become thoroughly conversant with Japanese sentiments and emotions is a question not easy to answer. How far can the consciousness of a people whose race and history are so different be shared by an Occidental? The position assigned to Hokusai by foreign critics and their ideas as to the points in which he excelled are by no means endorsed by Japanese writers on art. The peculiarities of Hokusai's style which foreign art critics select for special notice and praise, such as his faithfulness to nature in the matter of colour and form, and their comparison of his works to those of Michaelangelo, appear to us to be founded on a misapprehension of the nature of Hokusai's talent. It comes to this, that the foreign critic of Japanese art selects the peculiarities that most accord with his own tastes, without inquiring whether those peculiarities constitute the chief merits of any given artist according to native standards. We visited in company with a foreign gentleman well versed in art an exhibition of paintings held at Ueno not long ago. We were struck by the character of the remarks made by this gentleman respecting the various pictures. To give a few instances; concerning a picture of a number of storks by the seaside, he observed:—"The storks are too big and the pine-trees too small. Were ever such storks as these seen in the world?" On a picture representing peacocks taking refuge in a pine-tree during a storm, he remarked, "Peacocks are only to be seen in fine weather." On the picture of Minamoto Yoritomo hiding in the hollow of a tree, he said, "How would it be possible for a person standing at a distance to see the hairs of his head and the colour of his clothes in the way represented?" After passing a number of ancient pictures, each of which had a meaning of its own, with the inattention with which one views floating clouds or rising smoke, my companion came to a picture of Kwannon (the Goddess of

Mercy) and enthusiastically exclaimed :—" Here is something to look at. Here is a picture in which the difference between Eastern and Western tastes ceases to exist. Who would have expected to find Western ideas so faithfully represented in an Eastern country?"

With the exception of Mr. Lafcadio Hearn, whose views on art we published in these pages a short time ago, continues the *Taiyō*, these criticisms are a fair representation of the notions of Europeans respecting Japanese art. In a word, they amount to saying that though ideas may be expressed clearly by painting, if in the matter of form they do not come up to the foreign standard, as specimens of art they are defective. This view is no less extreme than the advocacy of sacrificing form altogether to the exigency of thought. In their eagerness to satisfy foreign requirements in respect of form, some Japanese artists produce works which are utterly devoid of latent thought.

The contention of the writer I have quoted seems to be, that the Japanese method of expressing ideas by means of the brush allows of liberties being taken in the form of the objects represented which offend foreign canons of taste. The question is of considerable interest and one on which there is much to be said on both sides.

A KNOTTY QUESTION CONCERNING JAPANESE PAINTING.

In 1897, the *Waseda Bungaku* published an article entitled *Nihon-gwa no ichi Gimon* (A question concerning Japanese pictures). The point discussed was mooted by Baron Suematsu and taken up by the *Yomiuri Shinbun*, in the columns of which it was thus stated: How is it that in Japanese ancient paintings, while flowers, birds and animals are so artistically and carefully delineated, the faces of human beings are conventional? What is the reason of this great difference? A writer signing himself "Mukian Shujin" gives the following answer to the above question :—In the power of reproducing objects in their actual forms Japanese ancient artists were deficient. Though they represented the presence of rays of light or the shade caused by their

absence, the effects of the presence or absence of these rays on human faces is not given. The shadow thrown by a tree makes this object to be more capable of representation than the flat face of a man. Hence the excellence of Japanese artists when delineating trees, and the like. Commenting on the above, the *Waseda Bungaku* says, Japanese artists are lacking in the power to reproduce natural objects in their actual form, and hence the human faces they portray are characterised by unreality. Then there is among our artists a marked tendency to represent the common and general characteristics (通性, *tsūsei*) of objects rather than their individual ones, and this prevents them from paying attention to the shadows cast by human figures. The conclusion that the *Waseda Bungaku* came to was that the failure to reproduce shade is a minor defect in Japanese painting, and is more than atoned for by many excellencies.

The *Waseda Bungaku* next took up the views expressed by Mr. Lafcadio Hearn on Japanese art (those given above) some of which it endorsed. It said that while Professor Hearn's opinions on this subject were an immense improvement on the blind bigotry so often displayed by Occidental critics of Oriental art, his views were a trifle too optimistic, and that in certain instances the Professor drew unwarranted inferences from the facts that he was discussing. Mr. Hearn's view of art seemed to be founded on what is called Platonic idealism and the type theory of Schopenhauer, said the *Waseda Bungaku*, and he thought that he saw these theories exemplified in Japanese art. The assumption that the further painting is removed from being a reproduction of existing form the higher it ranks as a work of art is to our minds unwarranted. Nor do we see that the choice of the general and typical characteristics of objects or portraiture, rather than their individual and peculiar ones, indicates superiority in the ideal followed by the artists who adopt this course. The moral ideas which Mr. Hearn read into our Japanese art are certainly not deducible by any ordinary process of reasoning. To say that there is any moral superiority in the representation of general and typical characteristics rather than individual ones, is to assert what is incapable of proof and savours

somewhat of the art criticism of Europe common among those who think that ethical and religious standards are applicable to art. Mr. Hearn's views on Japanese art impress one as being biassed in its favour, while those given to the public by Baron Suematsu, which also originated with a foreigner, are founded on an actually existing defect. We are of opinion, concluded the *Waseda Bungaku*, that nothing that can be said on the other side will suffice to nullify the truth of the assertion that Japanese artists lack the power to represent objects in their natural shape and form; and that it is conducive to progress in art that this fact should not be obscured in any way whatever.

In this connection I may mention that the writer mentioned above, who adopted the *nom de plume* "Mukian Shujin," published a long reply to Professor Hearn's *Taiyō* article in the columns of the *Yomiuri Shinbun*, in which it was maintained that the portraiture of typical features of objects is in every way inferior as art to the representation of their individual peculiarities.

BARON KANEKO ON JAPANESE ART.

Baron Kaneko is known to be one of the greatest modern authorities on Japanese art. In an address delivered by him in 1902 and found in No. 158 of the Reports of the Transactions of the Bijutsu Kyōkai, entitled *My Views on Fine Art*, he made the following remarks:—It seems to me a question as to which of the two factors that figured in its development fine art is most indebted, whether to the presence of real artists or to the patronage given to artists by persons occupying positions of influence. In what is known as the Nara Age (A.D. 710-784) our Emperors were great patrons of art and it was chiefly through their influence that the Buddhist and Shintō temples of those days were so beautifully built. At that time there was no general appreciation of architectural beauty among the people. Later on, in the Kamakura era [A.D. 1192-1333], when Buddhism became so prosperous and the Bushidō found so much favour among the educated classes, art was studied and highly esteemed by the advocates of both systems of thought and belief, but the mass

of the people still took no interest in it. During the Ashikaga era [A.D. 1335-1573], after Ashikaga Yoshimasa [1435-1490] and some prominent contemporaries of his had set the fashion of holding *Cha-no-yu* parties in a way that blended the fantastic and the artistic in a captivating manner, it became the practice for traders to cultivate a taste for art and thus gradually it began to work down to the middle and lower classes of society. Then came the Momoyama* era, when the Taikō did so much to further art at Ōsaka and Kyōto, the only regret connected with which is the fate which overtook so much of his work soon after his death. From the time of the first Tokugawa Shōguns onward the appreciation of art became general throughout the whole nation.

The history of art in Europe supplies an exact parallel. In very early days it owed its existence chiefly to the patronage of monarchs or noblemen. Then it gradually spread hand in hand with Christianity. The Church became a centre of art in many different ways, and it was through the Church that the people as a whole learnt how to enjoy it. But in a later age when feudalism had been abolished and the masses had become more wealthy, it became the fashion for moneyed people to vie with each other in the ornamentation of their houses, and this gave a new impetus to art and greatly extended its sphere.

In Japan the beginning of the Meiji era, along with the destruction of many time-honoured and worthy institutions and ideals, witnessed an almost universal decline of the æsthetic taste of former days. So much was this the case that at times even such a skilful artist as Shibata Zeshin† [1807-1891] could barely make his 15 or 16 *sen* a day, and even Kanō Hōgai was frequently in pecuniary straits, and for this reason was glad to act as servant to Mr. Fenollosa. It was in the year 1879 when, on my

* The name of a hill near Fushimi on which Hidoyoshi built a magnificent castle in 1593.

† Shibata studied painting first under Suzuki Nanrei in Edo and afterwards under Okamoto Toyohiko in Kyōto and became, according to some competent critics, the greatest lacquer artist Japan has produced.

return from America, I called on Mr. Fenollosa and found him busy making a collection of pictures. But to my surprise most of the specimens of art he had bought were counterfeits. I took him to the house of my old daimyō Marquis Kuroda, and showed him some genuine productions of our best artists. This opened his eyes, and from that time onward he obtained access to various temples and houses where genuine masterpieces were to be seen. This led to the formation of a society called the Kankai, which undertook to inspect and report on pictures, and thus by degrees a thorough appreciation of all that is valuable in our art was brought about. The next step taken was the presentation of a memorial to the Government, asking them to devise measures for the encouragement of fine art. This resulted in the opening of the first Art Exhibition. After this had been succeeded by a second and a third, the Bijutsu Kyōkai was organised. Of late years art has progressed rapidly, but the credit of calling the attention of the nation to its own art treasures belongs to Mr. Fenollosa. Before he commenced to purchase pictures magnificent specimens hardly fetched anything. A famous picture now in an American Museum called Fūraijin (the god of wind and thunder) was formerly in the possession of the Zōjōji priests. They wanted to sell it for 670 yen but no Japanese purchaser could be found. But Mr. Fenollosa naturally jumped at it, and an American museum has been enriched thereby. The Japanese pictures sold by Mr. Fenollosa to the Boston Fine Art Museum alone realised 500,000 yen. To give an idea of the progress that has been made, I may state that whereas 20 years ago it was difficult to procure 600 yen for some of the finest pictures, at the present time pictures painted by members of the Bijutsu Kyōkai frequently sell for this amount.

Fine art in Europe has for some time past been steadily declining. To a large extent science has killed it. Photography has superseded drawing and painting as far as the representation of existing forms and appearances goes. It is true that the ideal world still furnishes abundant material to the artist, but no such masterpieces as were produced in ancient and mediæval

times are forthcoming now. For a while the notion prevailed that some new ideas were needed, and about fifteen years ago several European artists maintained that the productions of Kōrin, Kano and Ōkyo furnished the very stimulus sought for in the West, and so in both Europe and America a school of artists arose which made Japanese art its chief model. But as for our artists, instead of keeping to that in which their ancestors had excelled, they began to imitate the European mechanical representation of actual objects, that is, they undertook to compete with photographers, and of course in this they usually failed. So in this as in other things we have found ourselves putting on the clothes which Europe has cast off. While the West was sighing for a revival of the ideal in art and sending men to Japan in search of new types of the ideal, we were content with the mechanical and the formal. It seems to me that the styles known as the Tosa, the Kano, the Maruyama, the Shijō and the Unkoku should each be studied with undivided attention and should each serve as models for imitation. I do not mean it to be inferred that I see no defects in these styles, but what I maintain is that each of them possesses qualities not found in the same degree of perfection elsewhere which it is most desirable to preserve. In studying the works of the ancient artists and in endeavouring to imitate them, care must be taken not to mix up the design and the form of the picture. There are not a few paintings whose design is very superior but whose form is grotesque and utterly ridiculous. Personally I am very fond of what are known as the Taiga-dō pictures, but in form they are extravagant beyond description. Where in the whole world are such tigers and such men to be found as one sees represented in these sketches? But in originality of conception, and, in certain cases, sublimity, they serve as excellent models for modern artists. . . . In worshipping the ideal excessively, Japanese artists have grown to think that little or no attention need be paid to form, but Europeans can never be brought to admire wholeheartedly paintings in which the artist has ignored the most fundamental principles of proportion, contour and perspective.

KYÔTO AND TÔKYÔ ARTISTS COMPARED.

After a careful inspection of the pictures exhibited by Tôkyô artists at the Tôkyô Bijutsuin no Tenrankai and those sent to the Kyôto Kûzokai by Kyôto painters in 1902, Dr. Ôtsuka Yasuji, in a long speech delivered at the Tôkyô Bijutsu Gakkô, compared the leading characteristics of the two sets of pictures and their painters. Here are some of the points he made in this comparison. The prevailing tendency with all Japanese artists at present is to select serious subjects, such as death, the separation of friends or relations, or the performance of some toilsome task. . . . The subjects of the Tôkyô pictures are certainly more complex and ideal than are those of the Kyôto paintings. The Kyôto exhibitors evidently have a liking for simple and commonplace subjects. But the Tôkyô painters make the mistake of expending all their powers on the chief idea represented to the neglect of all accessory parts of the picture. Taking the paintings as a whole, it is true to say that the Kyoto paintings are better executed and the colouring is greatly superior. Among our painters there are those who make colour the principal consideration and those who make outline the principal consideration. Hitherto the latter class of artists seem to have predominated, so that Japanese pictures have been mostly of the map class, that is, outline has formed the basis of the picture. What is known as the Hashimoto style of picture is of this class. But these paintings have recently become very unpopular and the tendency now is in the direction of making colouring the standard of merit. In colouring there are three distinct methods or styles, which we may designate (1) *kaku-ryû*; (2) *haku-ryû*; and (3) *suru-ryû*. In the first the hand of the artist plays the most prominent part, in the second all depends on how the brush is used, and in the third the mixing of colours and putting them on the canvas are everything. In imitation of the foreign style of painting, growing importance is being attached to adeptness in the art of mixing and applying colour, though as a nation it has been in the use of the *fude* that we have specially excelled. By delicate touches of the brush we have succeeded in bringing out

in a striking manner the difference between light and shade. The old Japanese method of sketching differs essentially from the practice followed in oil painting. The tendency with modern artists is to abandon the old style of painting altogether.

The portrait painting of recent years done in Japan reveals serious defects. Whether the artists have copied imperfect models or what has happened I can not tell, but the types produced are grotesque in the extreme. In some instances the hands or the feet are badly done, in others the faces given are most unnatural. In the attempt to represent mental traits on canvas both the Kyōto and Tōkyō exhibitors may be said to have signally failed. They have not gone beyond portraying the most ordinary and shallow emotions of men and women.

JAPANESE ART NEVER HAS BEEN ORIGINAL.

This is the opinion of Baron Kaneko, the learned art-critic, who at various exhibitions has long acted as one of the principal judges of the merits of modern art productions. Here is an epitome of what he said in the *Taiyō* some years ago on this topic. What is known as ancient Japanese art was only an imitation of Korean, Chinese or Indian models. Japan has yet to make a name for herself as an originator of style, and, in my opinion, we have now reached a most favourable time for the accomplishment of this purpose. It is supposed by many that in days gone by our artists actually invented the styles with which their names are associated, but I confess that I have for a long time had my doubts as to this. In the course of my investigations I have come across evidence that shows that much was borrowed from Occidental artists without acknowledgement.* To quote two instances only: Maruyama Ōkyo [1733-1795] acquired the power to produce the sketches which won for him such wide celebrity by studying Dutch oil paintings. A certain wealthy citizen of Kyōto supplied Ōkyo with money while he was learning foreign painting under the guidance of a Dutchman in Nagasaki.

* Did space allow I could quote from other Japanese writers on art much testimony in support of this assertion.

Ōkyo in this manner obtained the knowledge which enabled him to sketch scenes for show-boxes; and thus those movable pictures done on boards known as *kae-ita*, which attract so much attention at festivals, came into use. Even the famous Hokusai [1760-1849] studied anatomy under a Dutch doctor, and thus obtained those ideas of proportion in the human frame which imparted to the *Katsushika-e** much of their value as representations of real life. It shows an ignorance of history to speak of foreign art as something quite distinct from our native styles. We have borrowed much in the past and we can't do better than study and assimilate everything foreign that is accessible. Thus alone can our artists obtain the knowledge necessary for enabling them to originate a school of their own.

Into the subject of glyptic art I have no space to go. This paper only aims at indicating the directions which development is taking in a general way. Full treatment of any subject is of course impossible.

Not a few Japanese have acknowledged that the best histories of Japanese art have been written by foreigners. Some years ago a writer in the *Taiyō* observed :—"In order to obtain a knowledge of many Japanese subjects, we have to sit at the feet of Occidentals. Even in the compilation of Japanese grammars, a foreigner, Mr. B. H. Chamberlain, has no rival. In a minute knowledge of Japanese art, in the study of the Ainu language and customs, and in sundry other subjects foreigners take the lead and we are content to quote their works. What greater proof could there be of the slenderness of our resources as compilers and of the limited extent to which the scientific spirit is cultivated by us? For elaborate histories of Japanese art we have to consult the works of Gonse, Anderson, Rein, Bowes, and others,† whose names even few of us know. The care, taste and thoroughness displayed by the compilers of some of these foreign works are quite phenomenal. We can not but feel it to

* *Katsushika* was the name which Hokusai took in honor of his teacher Katsukawa Shunshō.

† The article from which I am quoting was published long before the appearance of Captain Brinkley's exhaustive history of Japanese Art.

be an anomaly that we should have to rely on aliens for an exhaustive and accurate history of our own achievements.

Since these words were penned numerous elaborate histories of Japanese art have been published, but if the writer of the article is still alive, it may be some comfort to him to know that it by no means follows that the best stories are written by persons who share the nationality of the people whose doings are described. Gibbon's great work may be cited as a case in point. And Taine's "History of English Literature" has been pronounced by competent critics to be the most readable book of its size ever published on the same subject.

CHAPTER VIII.

DRAMA.

It would serve no good purpose for me to quote Japanese opinion on this subject at any great length. Radical changes in stage-acting are taking place. What the final outcome will be it is not easy to foresee. Here is an extract from an article contributed to the *Dai Nihon* (now extinct) by Mr. Kōda Rohan, the eminent novelist, a few years ago:—Judged by high standards Japanese acting to-day is very poor. But this is to be attributed to the fact that stage-acting, like so many other things in this country, is now in a state of transition. Progress is slow because the majority of the people who habitually frequent theatres are essentially conservative and prefer to see their old historical plays acted according to traditional rules. To obtain new dramas and new actors is no easy thing. It must be borne in mind too that to numerous actors Western methods of acting do not commend themselves at all. Now, to get rid of all these actors at a stroke is impossible, as the men to replace them are not to be had. To convince them that their acting is out of date and that they must alter it is very difficult. Hence the slow progress made. But there are some changes demanded by the present age, which though not impracticable by any means, are not effected by the managers of theatres. Why, for instance, are

the performances stretched out over so many hours in these busy times? This practice keeps many people away from the theatre. Then, since acting is an appeal to the eye, an appeal to the ear and an appeal to the heart, it is important that those who cater for the public in this fortieth year of Meiji should realize that Japanese eyes, Japanese ears and the Japanese mind are not what they were half a century ago, and that hence what amused theatre-goers in Tokugawa times is to-day deemed wearisome. The want of new plays being keenly felt, the fashion occasionally followed in the West of making ordinary works of fiction serve the purpose of dramas has been adopted here; but the result in most cases has been far from satisfactory. Only a few of the many novels that have been published in recent times lend themselves to treatment of this kind. In stage-acting the appeal to the heart is often made very powerful by stage scenery, music, gestures and the like. It is not the spoken words only, but the sights and sounds that precede, follow or accompany them that produce a strong impression on the minds of the audience. Now, in many of the attempts to adapt fiction to reproduction on the stage, this has been entirely overlooked—with disastrous results. Some modern actors are neither well versed in old ways of acting nor in the new style which is gradually being introduced. In theatres like the Hongōza, where there is a strong prejudice against the Tokugawa style of acting, the extemporized substitute for it ignores most of the canons of histrionic art. But I am convinced of one thing, and that is, that stage-acting is progressing, though the progress be slow. The old-style actors are gradually disappearing. As time goes on new dramas, representing modern Japan and its new views of life, will take the place of the historical plays, which have lost much of their significance and interest to the men and women of to-day.

Writing in the *Tōkyō Nichi Nichi Shinbun* in 1903, Dr. Inoue Tetsujirō said:—"Though a few good plays have been written, the writers have received little encouragement from the managers of theatres. Japanese plays are exclusively confined to the representation of what is pitiable or what is cruel. One wears of appeals to the same class of feelings over and over again. It

is much to be regretted that there should be no means of getting an entirely new class of drama put on the stage."

In April the same year Dr. Inoue contributed to the *Tei-koku Bungaku* ■ very interesting article on the Japanese stage entitled *Engeki ni tsuite no Kōsaku*, the substance of which I now proceed to give :—In this age of keen competition and bustle there ■ a danger of everything being sacrificed to material interests. But there remains among all civilised nations one taste which champions the cause of the ideal, and that is the love of beauty, and it is because stage-acting in the West is so closely connected with the many forms of beauty that it has such charms for the public generally. But can it be said that our Japanese stage fulfils this condition in any adequate measure? I think not. In order to represent the beautiful on the stage, it is not sufficient to place before the spectators certain objects of beauty and recite to them beautiful compositions. In order to have due effect on the mind, the beautiful must not be allowed to lie scattered about here and there with the chance of its being picked up piece by piece, as it were, by an appreciative audience, it must be centralized, it must be embodied in a definite, intelligible and impressive form by actors and actresses. The actor's art consists of two distinct parts, namely, (1) close attention to outward forms; (2) close attention to the ideas which are being represented. Now let us compare the Japanese stage with that of Western countries. I. In regard to *operas*, *operettas* and *ballets*, we have nothing in this country worthy of comparison with the productions of Wagner and other composers. Our *kappore*, though possessing a few points of resemblance to Western ballets, is lacking in dignity and refinement. The *miyako-odori* and the *amaeba-shiguri* approach nearer the foreign ballet, but they are wanting in spirit and "go." Japanese dancing consists too exclusively of mere posturing, bending to the right or to the left, extending the limbs in this fashion or that, the hands playing the principal part and the feet only being used to keep time, which is done in a grotesquely noisy fashion. In foreign ballet-dancing the adroit use of the feet is the main feature, and ■ is far more exciting to watch than our attitude-

striking stage performances. We have only one ballet-dance that may be said to be permeated with energy, and that is the *sambaso*, but this is quite an exceptional performance.

II. *Plays*. Our dramas are of three kinds (1) Those whose object it is to delight the audience; (2) those which aim at awakening sympathy for suffering or indifference to it; (3) those which appeal alternately to the opposite feelings of men's minds. In examining foreign plays it has struck me that those of the great dramatists are mostly mournful, if not tragical. Such were the compositions of Shakespeare, Goethe, Schiller, Corneille and Racine. The plays of Moliere were exceptions to this rule. In Japan tragedy is altogether overdone. Our actors are not content with mere killing, they must add every horror attached to a slow and painful death that ingenuity can invent. After being covered with blood from the wounds received, a man deliberately begins to disembowel himself, and does not die till he has made the audience quite sick with the sights witnessed. The everlasting appeal to our pensive feelings on the Japanese stage is unwholesome and wearisome, and as for the tragical scenes that appear on our boards, their tendency is to encourage cruelty by familiarizing audiences with revolting sights. In regard to those plays whose chief design it is to give pleasure to the audience, it seems to be thought in this country that it is impossible to attain the object in view otherwise than by the introduction of scenes between men and women that are quite indecent. This is an entire mistake. If a Moliere were to appear among us and give us merriment unattended by any of the disfigurements which characterize the plays now in use here, audiences would certainly be found to fully appreciate such merriment. There are many serious objections to our practice of assigning women's parts to men. There is little doubt that it has a demoralizing effect on the audience. The class of women who are cleverly imitated by our actors are mostly persons of loose morals and the effect of such acting is to elicit the admiration of young girls for heroines whose characters are unworthy of imitation. I should like to see the practice of men taking women's parts entirely abolished.

Japanese actors may be divided into those of the old school, represented by Danjuro and Kikugoro (both dead), and those of the new, represented by Kawakami and known as *sōshi* actors. The *sōshi* actors, though lacking in some important histrionic qualifications, are certainly on the right track, and to them we must look for the development of an entirely new type of Japanese stage-acting.

CHAPTER IX.

JOURNALISM.

No account of the progress of thought in modern Japan such as I aim at giving in this paper would be complete without a brief history of the development of journalism and some account of the talented men whose writings have made their mark on the political and social life of the nation. As to whether the daily press of Japan is to-day a blessing or a curse, opinion is divided, as I shall show by quotations presently. But there is no denying that the history of the evolution of the modern Japanese newspaper, despite all the difficulties connected with the use of ideographs, is full of interest, furnishing as it does abundant proof of great enterprise and perseverance on the part of the early pioneers in this field of modern literature. I shall begin by quoting certain passages from two short histories of Japanese journalism; one that appeared in the *Yomiuri Shimbun* July 12th, 1902, relating especially to Tōkyō newspapers, and the other which came out in the *Kokumin Shimbun* in May, 1903, concerning Ōsaka journals. The *Yomiuri Shimbun*, in celebration of the issue of its nine thousandth number, published a special edition of the paper, consisting of 44 pages, on the date above mentioned, and the *Kokumin* the following year, in commemoration of the issue of its four thousandth number, brought out a 96 page paper, containing an immense amount of valuable matter.

TŌKYŌ NEWSPAPERS AND OTHER PERIODICALS.

The history of Japanese journalism may be divided into five periods, says the *Yomiuri Shimbun*. These we will take in order.

(1) *The Infant Stage of Journalism.*—It is not quite clear when newspapers were first published in Japan. By this remark it is evidently meant that it is not clear whether certain news sheets sold at the time of the famous vendetta of the 47 *rōnin* and prior to that event are entitled to be called newspapers, as subsequently the *Yomiuri* gives an account of the publication of the first paper. In the Ansei period [1854-1860] the *Yomiuri Shimbun* was called *Yobiuri-Shimbun* (the newspaper that is sold by shouting)* A picture of the ruins caused by the great earthquake that occurred during that period (1855) published by the *Yobiuri* realized a large sale.† Compared with modern newspapers those issued in early days recorded the most trifling incidents and were padded with popular ballads and the tales known as *utsiyo-banashi*. Among the items of news published in the early numbers of the *Yobiuri Shimbun*‡ we find such statements as the following:—"Near the Tennō temple a dog was seen devouring a baby," and "The wife of a certain eel-seller having proved unfaithful to her husband, the latter took a gimlet and bored a hole in her eye."|| As far as can be ascertained, it would seem that the first real newspaper was published in 1864. The son of a common sailor called Hikoziō (Joseph Heko), of Himeji, in Harima, drifted across the Pacific in a junk and landed in America, where he spent nearly seventeen years. On his return to Japan, in conjunction with Kishida Ginkō, he started a paper that bore the simple title *Shimbunshi*. The foreign news was supplied by Hikoziō and the Japanese by Kishida. In size it was about as big as a sheet of the paper known as *hanashi*.

* In some respects the *Yomiuri's* account of the early history of journalism is confusing. It first states that the *Yomiuri* itself under another name existed in the Ansei period and later on it asserts that the first real newspaper was started by Hikoziō and Kishida in 1864.

† Subsequently the two famous illustrated accounts of this earthquake, the *Ansei Kambun Roku* and the *Ansei Kambun Shi*, found eager buyers.

‡ The *Yobiuri* of the Ansei period is evidently not considered to be entitled to the name of a newspaper.

|| Dealers in eels are in the habit of dividing an eel in two by inserting an awl into one of its eyes and then splitting it open. So the method of punishment chosen by the wronged husband is supposed to have been amusing. Of its cruelty nothing is said.

It sold at 32 *mon* a copy. But Kishida soon fell under the suspicion of the Government and had to flee to Shanghai. This involved the death of the paper. The next journal published was called the *Bankoku Shimbun*. An American gentleman called Perry (?) in conjunction with a Buddhist priest named Ajiki Zendō worked up this paper, which was published in *kana*. This was followed by the 大政官日誌, *Daijōkan Nisshi*, which was the father of the present *Kwampō* (Official Gazette). Mr. Kishida, whose journalistic ardour was irrepressible, returned from Shanghai soon after the establishment of the above-named organs and started the *Moshiogusa*. In rapid succession to the above, at the beginning of the present era, there appeared the *Chūgunai Shimbun*, edited by Yamagawa Haruzō and the *Koko Nippō* (the father of the present *Tōkyō Nichi-Nichi Shimbun*), edited by Fukuchi Genichirō. The printing was all by blocks at this time and the get-up of the sheets was of the roughest kind. About the year 1871 the fever for publishing newspapers abated for a while, only to break out again with greater force not long after.

(2) *The Establishment of Pro-Government and Anti-Government Organs.* — In 1872, on his return from Europe, whither he had gone as a member of the Iwakura Mission, Mr. Fukuchi Genichirō started the *Tōkyō Nichi-Nichi Shimbun*. At the same time, urged on by Mr. Kishida, Mr. Hirano Tomiji (of the Tsuchiji Type Foundry) commenced to manufacture movable type. About this time Mr. Maejima Mitsu started the *Yūbin Hōchi Shimbun*, and subsequently the 公文通達 *Kōbun-tsūshi* appeared, followed by the *Chōya Shimbun*, and Mr. Black's 日新漢事誌, *Nisshin Shinjishi*. Then came the Yokohama *Mainichi Shimbun* and Okamoto Takeo's *Akebono Shimbun*. The above-named papers all appeared between 1872 and 1877. The following was the situation of affairs at that time. Certain powerful members of the Government were in favour of sending an expedition against Korea. Over this question Saigō, Itagaki, Soejima, and Gotō left the Government. This brought about a change of Cabinet. The leading spirits of the new Ministry were Itō, Ōkuma, Ōkubo, and Iwakura.

Kido memorialized the throne, praying for the granting of a Constitution and the opening of a legislative assembly. This was discussed by all the papers. Inoue and Shibusawa published their views on finance and Soejima and Itagaki theirs on the creation of a Diet. The *Nichi-Nichi* was at that time edited by Fukuchi and supported by Kishida, Jōno (Dempai) and Suematsu and figured as a Government organ, advocating temperate and gradual reform. The *Hōchi Shimbun*, supported by Ōkuma and Maejima and edited by Yano and Fujita, was decidedly pro-Government. The principal Opposition and radical organs were the *Mainichi Shimbun*, edited by Numa (Shunichi), the *Ōkōya*, edited by Narushima and Suehiro, and the *Akebono Shimbun*, edited by Okamoto.

A literary society called the 明六會 Meirokukai, of which Messrs. Fukuzawa Yukichi, Mori Arinori, Katō Hiroyuki, Nishi Shū, Nishimura Shigeki, Tada Shindō and Tsuda Sen were the leading members, published a magazine that discussed the burning question of the day. Katō and Fukuzawa were in opposition to each other, the former advocating gradual and moderate changes and the latter immediate and radical reform. There were several other magazines that were ably edited and widely read at the time; such were the *Kinji Hyōron*, the organ of Messrs. Hayashi Seimei and Komatsubara Eitarō (the former Minister of Education), and the *Somo Zasshi*. Three noted members of the 共存同業, Kyōson Dōshū, Ōuchi Seiran, Shimaji Mokurai and Ono Azusa, started the *Minkan Zasshi*, which for a long time was an earnest advocate of popular rights.

The Saigō rebellion proved to be a set-back to the advocacy of popular rights. But in the year 1879 local government and local assemblies were established throughout the country. There was at this time a great controversy over the date to be fixed for opening the Diet. Count Ōkuma and others pleaded hard for permission to commence constitutional government in the year 1883, but Itō and Inoue were in favour of the postponement to 1889, which eventually was agreed on.

(3) *The Political Party Era*.—This lasted from 1881-1886. The political parties and their leaders are too well known to

need special notice here. Outside them all stood Mr. Fukuzawa Yukichi, with his *Jiji Shimpō*.

(4) *The Sociological Era*.—Having grown wearied of political strife, the Japanese public showed signs of taking a keen interest in social questions and there was an attempt to introduce European customs *en masse*. The fancy ball given by Itō and supported by Inoue and other Occidentalized statesmen was an indication of the length to which these notions had gone. But a reaction led by Tani and voiced in the *Nippon* and other organs soon set in. Even Hoshi Tōru wrote in his organ the *Kōron Shimpō*, afterwards called the *Mezamashi Zasshi*, against the denationalizing influences that were at work.

(5) *The Representative Government Era*.—The journals which appeared for the first time about the year 1889 were the *Tōkyō Kōron*, the father of the *Asahi*, started by Murayama Ryōhei and edited by Suehiro; the *Shinonome Shimbun*, edited by Mukae, the *Kokumin*, edited by Tokutomi Sohō; the *Chūō*, edited by Ō-oka Ikuzō; the *Yorozu Okōhō*, edited by Kuroiwa Shūroku and the *Niroku Shimbun*, edited by Akiyama Teisuke. Some of these still continue to be issued, others have succumbed. The mortality among minor newspapers, (*Ko-Shimbun*) has been very great. The *Eiri Shimbun*, the *Iroha Shimbun*, the *Ukiyo Shimbun*, the *Katka Shimbun*, and the *Kaishin Shimbun* have gone the way of all the earth.*

THE ŌSAKA PRESS.

The following account of the Ōsaka newspapers is taken from the *Kokumin Shimbun* article mentioned above. The first journal published in Ōsaka was the *Ōsaka Shimbun*, which was started in 1872. This journal only covered 14 or 15 pages of the paper known as *hanshi*, was printed with wooden blocks and sold at 3½ *sen* per copy. It was a very poor production and soon perished. In 1875, a paper called the *Naniwa Shimbun* was

*This account is far from being exhaustive and needs supplementing from other sources, but it is fairly authoritative as far as it goes.

started, but it neither merited nor received any better support than its predecessor. The news it supplied was of a very low or insignificant type, and the editor failed to command respect. The following year a political organ, the *Ōsaka Nippō*, made its appearance. It was an anti-Government organ edited by Mr. Seki Shingo (subsequently made Prefect of Fukui), whose writings brought about its temporary suspension by the authorities.* The two papers that had preceded the *Ōsaka Nippō* were called *Ko-shimbun*, so that this was the first of the *Ōsaka Ō-shimbun*. A few years later several other papers were started, but their lives were too short to merit mention here. In the year 1879 a political party was formed in Ōsaka known as the Rikken Seitō, and the *Ōsaka Nippō*, after changing its name to the *Rikken Seitō Shimbun*, became its organ, with Mr. Fukuzawa Uro (afterwards Prefect of Yamaguchi) as its editor. In 1883 this paper underwent another change of name, becoming the *Ōsaka Mainichi Shimbun*, the title it now bears.

That same year there appeared what was then considered to be a very insignificant sheet, the *Ōsaka Asahi Shimbun*. After occupying a very low position for a short time, it was purchased by Mr. Murayama Ryōhei and converted into a first-class newspaper, subsequently, if report be true, commanding a larger circulation than any paper in Japan. These two newspapers, the *Ōsaka Mainichi* and the *Ōsaka Asahi* were in get-up and influence on a level with the leading journals of Tōkyō. The *Ōsaka Asahi* made a point of enlightening the masses on a variety of ordinary topics. It disbursed more money than any other paper on telegrams and the collection of reports of sundry kinds. In 1893, the late Mr. Takahashi Kenzō (at one time head of the *Official Gazette Office*) a very polished and learned writer, became its editor, and by this appointment the paper was con-

* This Mr. Seki was at that time a great friend of Mr. Komatsubara Eitarō. Together the two men started the *Sanyō Shimpō*, in whose columns Mr. Komatsubara argued in favour of liberty and popular rights with great fervour, by this means developing political thought throughout all the provinces of Chūgoku. At this time the Okayama Prefecture led the country in demanding constitutional government. Mr. Komatsubara had, prior to this, been imprisoned on account of his advanced views.

verted into one of the most noted organs of high class criticism and discussion of that day.

Till it engaged the services of Mr. Harz Kei as editor in 1886, the *Osaka Mainichi* was no match for the *Asahi*, whose copious notes on all sorts of subjects attracted a great variety of readers. On from that time, though in some respects inferior to its rival, the *Osaka Mainichi* still obtained a wide circulation.

In 1899 a new journal made its appearance called the *Osaka Shimpō*. It was started by a set of speculators, but was soon sold to a steady-going business man who made Mr. Yokoi Tokio (once President of the *Dōshisha*) its editor, who remained at his post till 1902, when his place was taken by Mr. Hara Kei.

In *Osaka* to-day (May, 1903) there are only three newspapers of any influence and they are the three mentioned above. Since the death of Mr. Takahashi, Mr. Ueno Kiichirō has had charge of the *Osaka Asahi* and the paper has lost no ground under its new editorship. The *Osaka Mainichi* has since 1900 been under the management of Mr. Komatsu bara, a man of great energy and resourcefulness and an experienced journalist. The *Osaka Asahi* resembles the *Tōkyō Nippon*. This is accounted for by the leanings of the late Mr. Takahashi, who was also at one time a frequent contributor to the *Nippon*. The *Mainichi* is written after the style of the *Tōkyō Jiji Shimpō*, most of the contributors to its columns being old Keiōgijuku students.

SUCCESSFUL NEWSPAPERS.

Writing on the above subject some years ago, Mr. Ōmachi Keigetsu observed :— In China newspapers are not popular, even the rich do not read them. In Japan however poor a man may be, he is to be seen poring over his newspaper. The universality of our education has brought this about. Many of our best papers cannot be understood by uneducated people. Such are the *Nippon*, the *Nichi Nichi* and the *Kokumin*. The class for which such papers are published is a very limited one. Hence in the present economic state of the country their profits can never be very large. What are called "Small Newspapers"

are far more widely read, and as educators of the ignorant masses their services deserve the gratitude of society generally. The price at which these papers are sold being about 20 *sen* a month, they are within the reach of the poorest members of the community. Neither the items of news given nor the *feuilletons* they publish are of a kind to interest educated people, but suit the small-minded busy classes for whom they are penned. By many respectable people these small newspapers are considered unreadable. Fornication, adultery, theft, bribery, and love suicides furnish most of the material for what are deemed taking paragraphs. Among the small newspapers of Tōkyō the *Yorozu Chōhō* is now the most prosperous. It has a good staff of writers and promises well for the future.*

Commenting on printing and publishing in Japan, Mr. Ōmachi says:—Proof reading is very carelessly done.† In Western countries the art has been so developed that there are practically no mistakes in foreign journals and books. Our type-setters are, to begin with, very incompetent and our proof-readers never think of calling an author's or a contributor's attention to mistakes in the manuscript sent to the printing-office, a course that would be adopted in the West.

ARE NEWSPAPERS IN JAPAN INFLUENTIAL ?

What the *Taiyō* published on this subject in 1899 holds good to-day, in the opinion of many competent judges. What, asks the *Taiyō*, has the *Yorozu Chōhō* gained in the way of influence over the minds of reading men by all its revelations ? Does anybody respect the writers of its so-called spicy paragraphs ? Is any man of influence guided by the line it takes

* This paper is delivered daily at homes in Sendai for 18 *sen* a month. Its news items are models of conciseness and lucidity. Mr. Kuroiwa still edits it.

† This is as true to-day as it was when written, causing much trouble to all foreign students of the Japanese language.

on any subject? We trow not. Has its publication of low details about concubines and illegitimate children tended to the reform of undesirable practices? Not in the least. It comes to this, that its circulation has been greatly increased by the line it has taken, and that is all that remains as the result of the much vaunted campaign against vice which it professes to be carrying on. Its influence in the cause of reform is nil. Are other papers more influential? We hardly think so. They seem to be equally powerless to radically alter the state of public opinion.

The *Taihei Shimbun* for a long time heaped all the abuse it could put into language on the head of one of the Exhibition Commissioners. But this gentleman is still as popular as ever in the circles where he is best known. The *Nippon*, on account of the great respect felt for the leading contributors to its columns, Messrs. Kuga and Miyake, ranks very high among Tōkyō journals, yet a short time ago, in company with the *Yomiuri*, it wrote very strongly on the subject of the loss of a large amount of money belonging to the Bank of Japan. But its strictures had no effect whatever on the management of the Bank. Not only was the President exonerated by the shareholders of the Bank from all blame, but strong approval of the course he took was expressed at the meeting held to discuss the affair.

Take the crusade against the educational methods now adopted and the blindness and perversity of the *Mombushō* which has been carried on for months by the *Tōkyō Asahi*, the *Jiji* and the *Yomiuri*. It has effected nothing.

Last summer the *Yomiuri* published over 20 articles on the despotism of the Tōkyō Imperial University, which was compared to that of the Pope of Rome. These articles were well written. They were worth careful perusal if only for the verve they displayed. But these eloquent phrases had no more effect on the course of events than the volumes of smoke that daily pass through the air over the city of Tōkyō. Not a single word of reply did they elicit from the Professors attached to the Institution that was so fiercely attacked.

Since the *Yorozu Chōhō* made a pecuniary success of the divulgence of secrets, with little regard to truth or falsehood,

numbers of small newspapers have followed suit, and as a consequence during the past eight or nine months unscrupulous newsmongers have from day to day dished up sensational stories with the object of damaging the reputation of individuals and public bodies indiscriminately. Banks, companies, churches, officials and private persons have all in turn come in for a quota of abuse from the compilers of these scurrilous sheets. But the public is not really prejudiced against anybody or anything on account of what the newspapers have written. It is fully understood that the smaller newspapers have chosen this way of making money.

We come to the conclusion then that in Japan to-day the newspaper is not a true reflection of intelligent public opinion. Despite the professions of high moral motives made by the newspapers, they do not represent the conscientious convictions of the bulk of the nation.

The above remarks, it seems to me, mostly apply to the second-class papers and not to the great dailies of Tōkyō and Ōsaka.

EDITORS AND BUSINESS MANAGERS.

Going back to the early history of Japanese journalism, we find that each of the great papers owed its popularity chiefly to the strong personal influence of the chief editors of these papers. On any and every public question these men had something pertinent to say that educated men deemed worth reading. The moulders of thought on political, social and educational questions each had his newspaper. Fukuzawa, the *Jiji*, Fukuchi Genichirō and afterwards Asaina, the *Nichi Nichi*, Tokutomi, the *Kokumin*, Shimada and Numa, the *Mainichi*, Kuga and Miyake, the *Nippon*, Kuroiwa, the *Yoruzu Chōhō*, Yano Fumio, the *Hōchi*, Nakai Kitarō, the *Fumiuri*, Ikebe Kichitarō, the *Tōkyō Asahi*, Narushima Ryūhoku and Suehiro, the *Chōya Shimbun* (long since defunct), Takahashi Kenzō, the *Ōsaka Asahi*, Yokoi Tokio, the *Ōsaka Shimpō*, and Hara Kei, the *Ōsaka Mainichi*. To give an account of these various editors would occupy more space than I have at my disposal. In re-

cent times papers have been run as business concerns and considerably less importance is now attached to the opinions of the chief editor or editors. There are men who have the reputation of being good managers as well as good editors, such are Tokutomi, Kuroiwa, and Shimada.

By far the most noted of all the managers of Japanese newspapers is Mr. Murayama. He is neither a scholar nor a writer, but a mere man of business. He had not been on the staff of the *Osaka Asahi* a year when he had so transformed the paper that it became more famous than any newspaper in the country. When he moved to Tōkyō and began to work up the *Tōkyō Asahi* he caused consternation in the ranks of the proprietors of small newspapers by the rapid strides his organ made from week to week. This led to an attempt to boycott the *Asahi* for a time, but the persecution only increased its circulation.

Among the early writers for the daily press, in point of style and polish, Fukuchi, Kuga and Shimada are perhaps the most noted. Among modern journalists Mr. Ikebe's name stands very high as the master of a style which he is said to have acquired by a study of French books. His leaders in the *Tōkyō Asahi* were always a pleasure to read. But as a logical, serious leader writer Mr. Asaina has few if any equals in this country. In a series of articles that he wrote some years ago in defence of Imperial Cabinets as infinitely preferable to Party Cabinets and in the numerous articles he has penned on Japan's foreign policy, he has shown himself to be one of the finest rhetoricians Japan possesses to-day.

The *Jiji Shimpō* has never been considered by educated readers as a model newspaper in point of style. Mr. Fukuzawa aimed at reaching the semi-educated masses and hence insisted on resort to repetition and the use of semi-colloquial language in his paper. It is a fact not generally known that Mr. Fukuzawa seldom wrote his own articles. The ideas were given by him to an amanuensis, who passed them on to Mr. Ishikawa Kammei, who was usually responsible for the language that appeared in the editorial columns of the *Jiji*.

On the *Nippon* as conducted by Mr. Kuga a very well-in-

formed and impartial anonymous writer in the *Bunshō Sekai*, in Sept., 1906, expressed himself thus :—"Impartial, unaffected by party influence, permeated with sincerity, the champion of the loftiest principles of the Bushidō and the exponent of the better class of public opinion, a good representative of the business world without allowing itself to be the tool of corrupt, designing men, the *Nippon Shimbun* occupies a unique position in the journalistic world. It alone has saved the reputation of Japanese journals (*Nippon Shimbun arite, sunawachi waga kuni-no shimbun no hin-i chi ni ochizu*)."

The article from which I have just quoted, after discussing the whole subject of modern journalism in Japan, concludes thus :—"There is no newspaper in Japan that can be called perfect. There is no paper that can claim to be a leader of public opinion. Is there a single editorial written that is remembered many days after it is read ? We think not. Every newspaper is engaged in a life and death struggle for existence with other papers, and how to increase its circulation is the supreme question with every one of them. Hence the tastes of readers only become the standard of writing."

JAPANESE WAR CORRESPONDENTS.

For the following remarks I am indebted to an article on the above topic which appeared in the *Bunshō Sekai* in August, 1906, written by a well-known war correspondent, Mr. Kuroda Koshirō. Mr. Kishida Ginkō was the first Japanese newspaper correspondent who followed a Japanese army and reported its operations. In 1874 he was sent to Formosa by the proprietor of the *Tōkyō Nichi-Nichi Shimbun* as a war correspondent. His letters gave a vivid description of all that took place and they were subsequently expanded into a history of the war which is read even to-day with delight by literary connoisseurs. Mr. Fukuchi Genichirō was the next war correspondent. In 1877 he wrote an account of the war in the South-Western part of Japan. With him were associated, as representatives of the *Nichi-Nichi*, Messrs. Kubota Kwanitsu and Nampa Masayasu. Five years subsequent to this, in 1882 and again in 1884, the military operations in Korea

were described by various newspaper correspondents. The *Nichi-Nichi* was represented by Mr. Tsukahara Jūshi and Mr. Noda Sei, the *Jiji* by Mr. Inoue Kakugorō and the *Chūgwa* *Dempō* by Mr. Oda Junichirō.

These early war correspondents had a comparatively easy task to perform. The forces which they accompanied were very small. The military operations were confined to a very limited area. The correspondents were all unversed in military affairs and in military technical terms. So their descriptions lacked precision, minuteness and lucidity. But there was one particular in which they possessed advantages not granted to modern correspondents. They were subjected to few restrictions, and in number they bore a reasonable proportion to the scope of the military operations they witnessed. In our recent wars, in order to collect full information on the movements of armies, each newspaper would need to send some 50 correspondents to the seat of war. But the military authorities have limited the number of persons accompanying an army to one representative of each newspaper. Then the censorship has become so strict that a full description of military manœuvres is impossible. Many a brilliant account of battles fought has been so cut down by the military censor as to be unrecognisable. Flesh, bones, muscle, life-blood, all go, nothing but shadow is left. This process, though perhaps necessary from a military standpoint, reduces war correspondence to a farce.* To describe events in a vivid manner so that readers may see just what happened and how it was brought about is not possible under the present censorship.

Mr. Kuroda when he wrote had for many years been connected with the *Nichi-Nichi Shinbun* as war correspondent. But

* In a leading article recently published on Sir William Russell, the *Times* observed:—"As Grattan said of the '78 Parliament, I may say, I think, of the Special War Correspondent, 'I sat by his birth and I followed him to the grave.' So wrote towards the close of his long and memorable life the man who by his rare gifts and endowments first revealed the powers of the Special War Correspondent in the columns of the *Times* during the Crimean War, and lived to be not only the unrivalled *doyen* of the craft, but in a certain sense its last representative."

in the article which I have quoted above he expresses great dissatisfaction with his calling, maintaining that literary art is killed by the restrictions enforced.

THE QUALITIES THAT GO TO MAKE A GOOD JOURNALIST.

A few years ago Mr. Shimada Saburō contributed to the *Seikō* (Success) an article entitled *How to become a Journalist*, from which I make the following extracts:—As a rule a specialist in any branch of knowledge makes a poor journalist. His tendency is always to give the public larger doses of his own specialty than they care to read. A general acquaintance with a great variety of subjects is what is required. As to style, a very serious and somewhat ponderous style is very unsuited to a newspaper, however well adapted it may be to a magazine or a learned book. Lightness of touch accompanied by a vein of humour takes with readers. While being informed of what is going on, they like to be amused. My own style is somewhat too heavy for newspaper articles. Young men who aspire to become successful journalists would do well to study the racy type of oratory adopted by the *hanashika* (story-tellers). These men know how to put life into dry bones, how to give interest to a number of wearisome historical details. The great thing to do is to write from inspiration. But unfortunately inspiration does not always come within the specified hours for writing, and nevertheless the required amount of copy has to be turned out. Hence the inequality of the newspaper writing of any one man.

An editor must keep in touch with society generally and must be ready to modify his views to a certain extent in deference to others, who are just as competent as he is to pass judgment on current events. Seeing that a newspaper aims at being an organ of public opinion, the editor and other writers for the paper must fraternize with their fellow-men and get to know what they think. In doing this combativeness of spirit is a great hindrance. For an editor to fight too resolutely for his own special opinions has a tendency to discourage those with whom he converses from

stating fully all they have to say on the other side. My love of argument has often interfered with my success as a journalist.

The true function of a newspaper is the furnishing of an accurate record of events and a correct interpretation of their signification and their bearing. The editor must efface his personality as much as possible and become a narrator and an interpreter of public events. It is the impersonality assumed by some that has led people to say, "Journalists have no consciences." They are supposed to reflect public sentiment of all sorts, to act as barometers, to register the variations of an ever-changing social and political atmosphere. Sharpness in getting hold of information, power to determine what details are important connected with every passing event, great economy of time in all their work and specially in their conversations with business men—these are indispensable qualities in the journalist. Certain things that a journalist wants to know can sometimes only be obtained by interviews with very busy men. As to occupy the time of such men for more than a few minutes is impossible, great tact is required in questioning them. Men of retiring dispositions, who court solitude, who revel in nature's beauty, to whom mountain and woodland are a perpetual delight, who infinitely prefer the haunts of wild beasts to the haunts of man, cannot possibly make good journalists.

CHAPTER X.

EDUCATION.

A minute study of the educational systems of civilised countries tends to show that they are all growths rather than creations. In as far as they have succeeded in attaining that final object of education, teaching boys and girls how to learn and how to think for themselves, these systems have always been found to be based on a most searching analysis of the peculiar mental characteristics of the people for whose benefit they were prepared. There is perhaps no mechanical apparatus whose efficiency owes so much to flexibility as that of education. Success in education depends on perfect adaptability. Hence it

follows that previous to the adoption of any one system in a country an exhaustive analysis of the mind to be educated should be made. It is preferable that in the case of the Japanese one of their own scholars should give us the results of his application of the X-rays to the native mind.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE JAPANESE MIND, BY MR. TAKEI YASU.

The lengthy essay from which I am now about to quote appeared in the Transactions of the Japanese Education Society in the year 1884, and was entitled *The Development of the Understanding*. Mr. Takei commences with the remark that Japanese learning has always been borrowed and never has been a product of the nation. Since learning comes from the intellect, it is in defective mental development that we must expect to find the source of that want of independence that characterises all Japanese learning, observes Mr. Takei. The mind can only be adequately developed when experience, memory and reflection work well together. (1) Experience consists of sensation, attention and conception. (2) Memory is of two kinds, rational and verbal. (3) The reflective power consists of imagination or speculation and investigation or inquiry. And now, taking the above analysis of mental states and processes as our guide, let us inquire in what respect the Japanese mind is well furnished with those elements which are the *sine qua non* of all true and thorough development. In the first place we find that in the Japanese mind there is no lack of sensation, but in the attention required for examining the nature of phenomena and in the forming of conceptions as to the laws that govern them, it is very deficient. Again, though we find ourselves endowed with no ordinary amount of verbal memorising power, what is called rational memory is in a very backward condition with us. Fancy we have, but little rational imagination; and as for the inquiring spirit, it is at such a low ebb as to be practically non-existent. The results of our investigation are as follows:—Deficiencies, 5, viz., attention, conception, rational memory, rational imagination and inquiry; non-deficiencies, 3, viz., sensation, verbal memory and fancy. For the obtaining of all the fruits the un-

derstanding is capable of bearing, it is absolutely necessary that the eight processes sketched above should be gone through, but the cultivation of the Japanese mind seems to have been largely confined to the development of sensation, verbal memory and fancy alone. If we divide the powers which contribute to knowledge into ten parts, then the proportion they should bear to each other is as follows :—Experience, $2\frac{1}{2}$, memory, $2\frac{1}{2}$, reflection, 5. From this we see that the parts which are most deficient in the Japanese mind are those which can least be dispensed with. Mr. Takei next proceeds to discuss the geographical and historical causes of the present state of the Japanese mind.

It is not unlikely that the views of the lecturer would now be considered extreme by many Japanese psychologists, and it is no doubt correct to say that an analysis of the mind of an ordinary Japanese made 20 years ago is not entirely trustworthy to-day, but those foreigners who have come into close contact with Japanese minds and impartial Japanese educationists who have given the subject the consideration it deserves must admit that there is a great deal of truth in many of Mr. Takei's remarks. The power of verbatim memory displayed by Japanese students is quite astonishing, but if they are asked to give an author's thoughts in their own language, they usually become embarrassed and speechless. It is not the ideas that have impressed them, but only the words in which they have been expressed. All this is of course the effect of the Chinese educational system that was followed for so many centuries in this country, according to which the mind was concentrated on words or ideographs, instead of on ideas, and depth of thought was sacrificed to a skilful arrangement of phrases. The primary work of education, then, for a long time to come must be the developing of the originating and speculating faculty of the Japanese mind. Not until that mind is freed from the deadening mechanism with which it has been oppressed and bound as with adamant chains will it cease to be the slave of words, forms, and fixed inflexible processes and move about at ease in the sea of thought visiting what region it pleases and collecting there such materials

as it may find, and using them to adorn structures whose design and execution are alike creations of its own genius, and no longer as heretofore facsimiles or slightly modified reproductions of models invented by others.

THE LATE PROFESSOR TOYAMA ON JAPANESE EDUCATION.

In the majority of cases where the Japanese Government has spent large sums of money in procuring the advice of foreign experts, it may be said to have obtained the worth of its money. The Government can usually point to the tangible results, to the solid achievements which have been the outcome of the counsel received from its highly paid foreign advisers. Education, in my opinion, constitutes a signal exception to this rule. The cause is not far to seek. With most branches of knowledge, skilful imitation of the best models or the best methods, as the case may be, is all that is required to insure success. This, under the guidance of foreign experts, the quick-witted Japanese have usually attained. Hence their railways, their postal service, their telegraphs, though no doubt still capable of much improvement, are in a creditable state and their army and navy equipments are certainly first-class. But an effective system of education is not to be obtained in any such way. Slavish imitation of the methods followed in foreign countries is bound to fail. Though there is an approved method of building a ship from which no ship-builder can widely diverge, with the training of the mind the case is different, the material on which the educator has to work and the kind of results which, all things considered, it is most desirable to obtain, render the choice of methods a delicate and difficult task. Now, it is absolutely impossible that even the cleverest of Germans should, in entire ignorance of the language and habits of thought of the Japanese people, be in a position to advise the Government as to the best educational policy to be pursued in this country. All that, as a rule, has been done is to recommend the American or the German system of education to the Japanese, that is, to fall back on the policy of imitation pure and simple. Against this policy one of the greatest authorities on Japanese education in his day,

the late Professor Toyama, protested in a very powerful way twenty-one years ago in a pamphlet which had a wide circulation at the time entitled "Japanese Education." In this brochure he affirmed that the Japanese system of education in use then was nothing more or less than a slavish imitation of foreign models. Here are his very words on this subject: *Konnichi waga hō ni okonawaruru kyōiku seido taru, sono ta hyūpan no jibutsu to onajiku, Ō-Bei shokoku ni okonawaruru tokoro no mono wo sono mama tenyō shitaru ni sugizu*, "The system of education now in operation in this country, like so many other things, is no other than the system in force in Europe and America unmodified in any way." Professor Toyama went on to show how in so many different particulars thoroughness was being sacrificed to rapid progress or to mere shallow showiness, how the celerity of mimicry was preferred to the tardiness but sureness of adaptation and assimilation. The Professor had much to say about the unsuitable school text-books in use, the need of more frequent repetition of lessons, the undue length of school hours, some thirty per week involving another twenty hours of preparation, the frequency and severity of examinations, the numerous defects of the moral education imparted and the poor qualifications of the teachers employed in Primary and Middle Schools. Teaching, at present, observed Professor Toyama, offers neither the reward of wealth nor that of reputation. As a pursuit it ranks extremely low. The salaries paid to school-teachers are not big enough to tempt men of ability. There are clever men who are sufficiently heroic and self-sacrificing to devote their lives to a profession which furnishes none of the ordinary incentives to earnest effort, but they are few in number. Professor Toyama had much to say against the Middle Schools—both Government and Private. "As things are now situated," he affirmed, "the higher schools spend most of their time in remedying the defective methods of education followed in the lower ones; hence reform, to be effective, must commence from the lowest educational strata. The present practice in most schools is to entrust the elementary teaching to the least capable teachers,—a plan that can not be too strongly condemned." These remarks are as true to-day

as when they were first published.

Before proceeding to quote from the writings of other Japanese experts on the system of education now followed in this country, I think it only fair to the Department of Education that the difficulties under which it has laboured should be placed before the readers of this paper.

JAPAN'S EDUCATIONAL PROBLEM.

Perhaps there is no Department of Government whose operations are so exposed to criticism as those of the Department of Education. This the more thoughtful of the officials belonging to that Department distinctly recognise. But what they would say is, "Our present difficulties are caused by circumstances over which we have no control. They are the difficulties that attend all great transitions from one set of opinions to another. When opinion is unsettled, action that is based thereon can not be otherwise; and this accounts for the constant change of policy which is noticeable in our past history." It must always be borne in mind that during the three first decades of the Meiji era there was perpetual controversy among the Mombushō officials on the question of how far it was advisable for Japan to adopt the Western system of civilisation. Some favoured the retention of the whole of the traditional Chinese system, to the entire exclusion of Occidentalism; others advocated the thorough eradication of the Chinese methods of education and a whole-hearted adoption of those of Europe and America, and a third party was strongly in favour of the adoption of the principle of amalgamation. To this policy the Department as a whole eventually committed itself and the educational structure that we see to day is the result of the blending of Oriental and Occidental systems of education. When we are told that any two systems are to be amalgamated, the following questions at once suggest themselves. (1) Is the amalgamation designed to be permanent or temporary? Is it a means to an end or the end itself? (2) What are the causes that have led to the adoption of this course? Are they purely psycho-

logical, or partly historical and partly psychological? Does the constitution of the Japanese mind demand that some elements of the Chinese educational system be retained? Or, on the other hand, do the merits of certain parts of this system warrant their retention and further development in the educational methods of the future? Though the Chinese system of education has some serious defects, it has shown a decided tendency to develop a steady, persevering and industrious spirit, which, as the late Viscount Mori pointed out in a lecture delivered in Ōsaka in 1885, has made the Chinese the first merchants in the world. If Chinese education has done great things for China, has it not also in past centuries done great things for Japan? These and similar considerations duly influenced the minds of the leading officials of the Department of Education and led them to adopt unequivocally the policy of amalgamation. But the carrying out of this policy has been attended by numerous difficulties. Many have been the situations when it could not be followed at all. Then, teachers throughout the country have all had their personal preferences and leanings. University Professors have not all been Occidentalized to the same extent, and waves of conservative or progressive thought have again and again greatly affected the working of the Department's educational policy, the general result being that the system in actual operation to-day is by no means symmetrical, and is marked by a number of grave defects, which I shall allow various Japanese scholars to point out in their own way, being strongly of opinion that no foreigner can claim to be any kind of an authority on so complicated a subject as that of Japanese education. I shall now proceed to quote the opinions of three Ministers of State on the educational methods followed in this country.

BARON KIKUCHI ON SCHOOL-TEACHERS AND THEIR WAYS.

Early in the year 1902, when Dr. Kikuchi was Minister of Education, the *Kyōiku Kōhō* (No. 255) published a report of a speech made by him before the Imperial Education Society entitled *An Educational Abuse*, of which the following is the gist:—

I have nothing out of the common to say to you. What I am going to speak about has repeatedly been dwelt on by others, but its importance seems to demand more attention than it has hitherto received. The abuse to which I refer in the title given to this address is no other than the system of cramming, the pouring into the minds of students more knowledge than they can digest, which is on the increase throughout the whole country. Not long ago when speaking to a foreigner on this subject, I observed that Japanese were unlike Europeans and Americans, in that they did little reading on their own account. In Europe and America young people read because they like it, and a charm is given to home life by the way in which members of the family discuss together the books they have been perusing. In Japan no such practice prevails. There is no literature of the class that is so popular in the West, and there are no readers. It is hard to say which is cause and which is effect in this matter. Are there no readers because there are no suitable books? Or are there no suitable books written because there is no demand for them? But as to the Japanese people not being fond of reading, there can be no two opinions. We are not a reading people. To these remarks the foreigner with whom I was conversing replied that the methods of teaching adopted in this country were the cause of the phenomenon. I think he was right. Students are not encouraged to seek knowledge for themselves, but only to take in such information as the teacher gives them. The teachers become crammers and the students mere receptacles. To teach students how to think for themselves and how to investigate subjects unaided is not the aim of the majority of our school-teachers. Our students have not acquired the habit of inquiring into subjects out of pure interest and curiosity. The system of cramming is injurious from whatever point of view regarded. The evils of our present system of instruction may be classified under three headings: (1) the use of unsuitable material; (2) excess as regards quantity, (3) mistaken methods of imparting knowledge. (1) In many of our schools to-day subjects are taught which it is unreasonable to expect students to understand. In some Middle Schools, Carlyle's writings, Emerson's works, or

Pope's *Essay on Man* are used as text-books. To expect raw students to take in the ideas found in these works is absurd. Classes which ought to be reading Second or Third Readers are engaged in puzzling out the meaning of Books IV., V., and VI. And even in such text-books as are in use the most intricate and difficult passages are purposely chosen for exposition by the teacher. (2) Then the ground that it is sought to cover in one term is far too extensive to allow of thorough work. In the majority of our Primary schools, books are galloped through, the pupils being required to write down as many of the teacher's remarks as possible. There is no time for questions and no attempt on the part of the teachers to ascertain how far the subjects treated are understood. (3) As to general methods of teaching they have the great drawback of failing to establish a connection between the mind of the teacher and the minds of the students. In this respect teaching has deteriorated in recent years. In the Tokugawa days, when the old *Kaisei Gakkō* occupied the position now filled by the Imperial University, it was customary to make one of the students explain the subject under consideration. His fellow-students were allowed to ply him with questions and to state objections to his mode of exposition, the teacher acting as an arbiter between the students and indicating where the truth lay. The students were not regarded as so many parrots who were expected to repeat what was said to them, but were required to master the subjects in hand and give an intelligent account of them to their fellow-students. As mental training this was infinitely superior to the knowledge-pumping-in system of to-day.

MARQUIS SAIONJI RECOMMENDS THOROUGH
OCCIDENTALIZATION.

When Minister of Education, in 1898, Marquis Saionji in the pages of the *Kyōiku Jiron* expressed himself as follows :—I quite anticipate that my assumption of office will be the signal for a good deal of opposition from the conservatives, who profess to champion the cause of patriotism. My steadfast adherence

to cosmopolitanism as a principle of action on a former occasion caused great umbrage in certain quarters. I have not changed my mind on this subject. Occidentalized I may be, but as regards patriotism I yield place to nobody. There are different ways of showing patriotism. Some seem to think that it is best shown by everlastingly singing the praises of Japan, by representing her as head and shoulders above all other countries. As for me, I confess I am strongly in favour of Western ways. On Western civilisation and Western learning we are chiefly dependent for the position we hold in the world. Our only possible chance of success in the future lies in a whole-hearted adoption of Western civilisation. This being so, is the man unpatriotic who recommends what alone can save his country from degradation? I say now as Minister of Education what I said some time ago: we must adopt Western ways. There is no alternative. We must push on female education. We are sadly behind in this matter. The zeal displayed a few years ago has cooled down and there is little earnest effort made to raise our women to a higher position.

BARON SONE ARASUKE ON EDUCATION PAST AND PRESENT.

Baron Sone, when Minister of Finance, in 1902, in No. 6 of the *Kyōiku-kai* (Education World) stated his views on education in the following terms:—In pre-Meiji days the system of education followed was based on class distinctions. There were (1) the Court nobles (*kuge*), (2) the *daimyō*, (3) the *samurai*, (4) farmers, and (5) artisans and traders. The education which each class received varied considerably, but it is enough to note the difference which existed between the education of the *samurai*, that of the farmer and that of the artisan and the trader. In the case of the *samurai* the leading principles observed in training him were the cultivation of a strong sense of shame, a preference for poverty and supreme contempt for mere money-making in any shape or form. As for the farmer, as long as he was taught how to read and write the few characters required in his line of life, it was all the literary training considered necessary.

With artisans and traders the abacus was everything and the chief object of their lives was profit. As for reputation, they hardly knew the meaning of the word. There was one characteristic which may be said to have marked all the education imparted in pre-Meiji times : it was expressed in the saying *Taru koto wo shiri ; bun ni yasunazuru* (To know when one has enough and to rest content with one's station in life). Any progress which involved a leaping over the bounds set to each class of individuals was universally condemned. Systems of philosophy that accorded with this principle, like that of 朱子, Chutsz, were welcomed, while systems that preached disregard of class distinctions and favoured ambition and ardent progressiveness like that of Wang Yang-ming were discouraged. The arrival of Commodore Perry put an end to the old class system of education and ushered in a new era. *But the change from the old system of education to the new has produced many evils.* The whole country has run to excess in the championship of popular rights and equality. For many years past there has been a perfect rage for the study of law. Law schools have been overflowing with students. The country is overstocked with men who know a good deal about law but know little else. Crowds of logic-choppers encourage useless disputes on scores of insignificant questions as a mere pastime. These men are the product of the age, the result of too sudden a change from one system of education to another. The undue hastening of natural processes causes imperfection and artificiality in the product. These largely characterise our education to-day. It looks very well on paper, but it is lacking in thoroughness and reality. With all our schools, examinations and educational machinery, we fail to produce a large number of men who are qualified to do work that enriches the State. Our learning is mostly ornamental after all. It is true to say that *all available strength is spent on the means, and so the end becomes unattainable.* This well describes the results of the application of our present system of education. The students are pressed and crammed to such an extent that after graduation a very large number of them are fit for nothing. It is not book-learning principally that insures success in life's

struggle. Energy, enterprise and will are most essential, and it is just these qualities that our system of education effectually suppresses in a very large number of instances. Education with us occupies too long a time. At present graduates of the University are usually twenty-seven or twenty-eight years of age.... *Our education is not sufficiently practical.* We despise the American system of education as low-grade, but it produces results of a practical kind that as a nation we sadly need. The heads of our students may be full of lofty ideas, but unfortunately the fate of nations is not dependent on a supply of philosophers. China for centuries despised Western science and all branches of practical knowledge and did nothing but train thousands of classical scholars who knew nothing of real life. In this fact lies the explanation of that country's present helplessness. So that Chin-wang's burning books and burying scholars alive showed that this Emperor knew what was the chief source of his country's impotency. A large number of scholars and a very poor country is not what we want.

Having quoted the opinions of high officials on the Japanese system of education now in operation to day, I now propose to give the views of a few leading non-official educationists on this subject.

MR. KAMADA EIKICHI ON EDUCATION AND OFFICIAL WORSHIP.

In July, 1906, a very striking article on education appeared in the *Taiyō* written by the President of the Keiōgijiku University, Mr. Kamada Eikichi, who is regarded as one of the leading educationists of this country. Here is the substance of Mr. Kamada's essay arranged under the writer's headings.

(1) *National Progress, National Defects and Government Policy.*—Though it is true that in the course of forty odd years we have made wonderful progress by adopting many of the best elements of Western civilisation, yet when we compare our wealth with that of Western countries, our lives with those passed in Europe and America, our mental development and our education with those of the most forward nations of the West, we realise how many are our deficiencies and feel that it is only

very undiscerning and shallow-minded folks that can regard the present situation of affairs in politics and education with light-hearted optimism. There is no greater barrier to progress and no greater abuse existing to day than the silly notion that officialdom is all-sufficient, that it can effect anything and everything. There is no such malady in this country as the prevailing official worship (*kwanson, mimpi*). Rightly regarded, the State is the people's State, and not the Government's. The notion that the rôle of a Government is always to lead and that of the people to follow and obey has brought Korea to its present condition, and in as far as this principle is maintained in any country, national progress is either arrested altogether or greatly retarded. Even if it were true that officials are as a body more enlightened than the people they govern, their attempts to bring everything under their control could not but be regarded as a hindrance to natural development.

(2) *A Spurious Form of State Socialism.*—The rage for converting all private concerns into Government concerns—ranging from traffic in tobacco and salt to the running of railways—I can not but view with apprehension. The plea that this policy is justified by the necessity of increasing the revenue is invalid, as the revenue could be increased in other and better ways. The real object in view in the Government monopoly policy is the increase of official power. The notion that measures which injure private interests, which take away sources of profit from the non-official section of the nation, are calculated to permanently benefit the State is entirely false. The State can have no lasting prosperity or security apart from the well-being of the whole nation. The present Government is on the wrong track. Instead of appropriating paying concerns, it would do well to undertake work which, though necessary, yields little profit, such, for instance, as the opening up of railways in sparsely populated parts of the country. What every wise Government desires to do is to increase the tax-paying capacity of the people under its control, and this can only be done by leaving all the principal paying businesses of the country in their hands. As things are to-day, with the additional burdens the State has taken on its

shoulders, the taxes are not likely to be reduced. So the people are called on to bear the same loads they have hitherto borne with diminished financial strength.

(3) *Official Despotism in Government Schools.*—The control of Government schools by the Mombushō is overdone. No room is left for free development, or for local reforms considered desirable by the teachers and directors of these schools. Red-tapeism prevails everywhere, resulting in pure mechanism and character-killing uniformity. Under this system the teachers are apt to become mere machines and their teaching to be formal and perfunctory. All alike rule-ridden, none of the charming variety to be found in schools that have been allowed to develop on their own special lines, characterises our Government schools. They are all of one type, and that not the highest by any means. Hardly anybody thinks that the system of education so relentlessly enforced by the Department concerned is free from criticism or incapable of improvement, but the Department, true to the theory that wisdom is a Government monopoly, insists on a slavish adherence to its rules.

(4) *The Assumed Official Superiority.*—It is my opinion that in all enterprises that have been undertaken on fairly equal conditions an impartial estimate of results would show that private individuals and companies have scored bigger successes than the Government has achieved. So where is the proof of the wonderful intellectual superiority claimed for officials in this country? My experience goes to show that at present the tendency is for men of the highest capacity who have decided views to choose non-official spheres of work, where their talents find scope for full development, and it is as a rule only second class or third class men who cling to officialdom (*Kiwampu ni konkon taru mono wa mushiro tsune ni dai ni ryū, dai san ryū no jimbutsu ni ōi*). Nothing could be more ridiculous than the notion that officials, who are comparatively few in number, possess more intelligence than the nation as a whole. One would think that a comparison of Government enterprises with those of private individuals

would have long ago exploded the notion of official superiority.*

(5) *A Serious Consequence of the Worship of Officials.*—The country is crowded with idle graduates of Middle Schools and High Schools. These youths have been brought up to think that for them manual labour or trade is degrading. They aspire to enter the ranks of officialdom. But only a very limited number of them can do this. The remainder loaf around Tōkyō aimlessly, a burden to their relatives and a nuisance to society. They have been taught to think that to occupy a stool in some Government Office is the grandest of all the *roles* played by human beings. When this is found to be impossible they too often lose all interest in life. For this result the undue exaltation of officialdom is responsible.

Regarding the subject from every point of view, I have come to the conclusion that ■ is quite impossible for us to reach a high state of national development as long as the blind, senseless worship of officialdom lasts. In the educational world we must devise measures for removing this greatest of all impediments to national progress.

MR. KURAHARA IKAKU ON THE DEFECTS OF JAPANESE
EDUCATION.

Writing in the *Kyōiku Kōshō* in 1902, Mr. Kurahara Ikaku, who is well acquainted with the school system in operation in this country, expressed himself as follows:—The system of education followed by a country ought to be closely associated with its national policy and be made to serve the interests of the State in every way possible. It cannot be said that our school system in past years has fulfilled this function in a satisfactory manner. In order to make this clear, let us consider the various uses to which education should be put and the educational policy which

* *Shōmei no kwanri ga tasu no kokumin yori chieiki yūto nari to omou wa, kokkei no kiwamari de aru. Ōku no Seifu jigō ga mingyō ni hi shite, gō mo shimpo shita ten no nai iro mite mo, kwanzen (官權) shugi no byōdō wa wakaru hazu de aru.*

should be adopted. (1) *Regarded from an economic point of view*, it should be one of the chief functions of a system of education to train men for business, to turn them into producers, to teach them how to use opportunities to the best advantage, in a word, how to support life in a world of competition. Examining the text-books in use in the principal schools of the country to-day, we find that in the main they differ nothing from those in use in feudal times. They deal largely with abstract principles or with ethics and have little bearing on actual life. Their standpoint is not that of the new world of which Japan forms a part, but that of the Tokugawa era. Our national existence and prosperity depend entirely on our ability to maintain ourselves by application to business pursuits. So that commerce and industry are ahead of everything in paramount importance, and this fact must be emphasized by the methods of teaching adopted in our schools. (2) *Regarded from a moral point of view*, our educational system should be fitted to train our young men to act as worthy representatives of the nation in their dealings with foreigners. We stand in need of a high standard of morality and one that is in thorough touch with the spirit of the age in which we live. One of the reasons why there has been so much discussion over ethical subjects of late is this, we are convinced that our moral guides will no longer serve us. Buddhism has ceased to find credence among us. Even Christianity is quite out of sympathy with the progressive principles of the time and quite inadequate to act as a guide in the present tangled state of national and international affairs. Christianity can not satisfy the aspirations of the leading spirits of the twentieth century. It fails to keep pace with the march of ideas in this progressive age.* Neither religious pessimism (Buddhism) nor religious optimism (Christianity) is suitable for furnishing a basis for twentieth century ethics. I will now proceed to briefly enumerate what I

* Mr. Kurahara was many years ago baptized as a Christian, but like so many hundreds of his fellow-countrymen who once entered the Church, he has evidently rejected the Christian creed unequivocally, and he is not afraid to let the world know this. It was with this Mr. Kurahara that General Terauchi once had a passage of arms in the Diet.

conceive to be essential requirements of a system of ethics that shall be in touch with the age. (1) Such a system must aim at developing all the various powers of man's mind and at satisfying all his lawful desires, and it must harmonise and adjust the various claims for consideration and satisfaction that arise within man's breast. (2) It must endeavour to work on that natural desire for satisfaction in man by setting before him laudable objects and by showing him how much happiness is to be attained by allowing one desire to modify another, by arranging for the harmonious working of the various parts of our nature. (3) *There must be a definite conception of what is meant by duty, responsibility, rights, integrity and impartiality.* Our young men must be taught what corporate life means, how the welfare of a people depends entirely on the due discharge of the duties of various relationships. The life of society as a whole must be raised to a higher level. *A higher ideal than that known to our forefathers must be held up to view.* (4) Since high-class social life depends on the characters of the individuals who constitute a community, great efforts must be made to teach the youth of the country *self-control, independence of spirit and self-respect* and to instil into them *a love of liberty, patience and courage*. (5) Since the happiness of society is largely dependent on a good supply of the necessities of life and the enjoyment of comforts and conveniences, and since in order to obtain these the accumulation of material wealth is essential, the importance of all wealth-producing occupations and agencies should be insisted on in schools. The duty of saving money against a rainy day and the like should be taught. (6) *More attention must be given to health, and its bearing on the future destiny of the nation must be explained.*†

DR. K. UKITA ON SCHOOL-TEACHERS.

Dr. Ukita, as is well known, has been connected with the Waseda Semmongakkō and the Waseda University for a long series of years. He is regarded as one of the leading authorities

†Mr. Sawayanagi has recently been writing on the physical inferiority of the Japanese in the pages of the *Shin Nihon* (Count Okuma's new organ.)

on education in this country. Here is what he wrote in 1903 in the *Kyōiku Chōhō*, bearing on the ordinary type of school-teacher in Japan. *The lack of public spirit among school teachers is conspicuous.* They seem to think that they are under no obligation to see that their pupils observe the laws of the land. The law against the smoking practised by young boys has proved ineffective because the majority of school-teachers do not attempt to enforce it, as they are under an obligation to do. There is among our teachers a great want of intelligent interest in the questions of the day, in social reform and the like. Hence they contribute little towards general progress. They are school-teachers and nothing more, living in a narrow clique of their own and hardly known outside the schools in which they teach. The fact is that as a nation we have not yet emerged from the feudal stage, and the people's doings, ideas, needs and progress are matters of little concern to those to whom officialdom represents the highest state of human existence. In the West a man is not necessarily highly esteemed because he happens to be in Government service. With most of us to become a minister of state is deemed a greater honour than to figure as a great scientist, philosopher or writer. Our views on the relative value of things are altogether mistaken. True conceptions of human life and public affairs, if possessed by school-teachers, could easily be imparted to their pupils. If, for instance, the duties of members of the Diet and of the people who elect them were rightly understood by school instructors and habitually dwelt on by them, gradually a political atmosphere far purer than exists to-day could be created. The indifference of the teaching faculty in this country to the outside world is much to be regretted.

COUNT ŌKUMA'S OPINION ON THE NET RESULTS OF
MODERN EDUCATION.

Few living statesmen or publicists have written more on education than Count Ōkuma. I have no space for lengthy quotations from his articles on this subject, but a short extract from a very long essay that appeared in the New Year's number of the *Jiji Shimpō* in 1903, which undertook to determine how far the

progress made by modern Japan is solid and how far it is merely superficial, will suffice to show what is the view taken by this eminent educationist. The adoption of European ways, manners, appliances and arts, says Count Ōkuma, is not to be mistaken for the assimilation of European thought. It is quite impossible to change the fundamental ideas of a nation in thirty-five years or even in two hundred years. It is constantly assumed that the changes effected in the Meiji era are more radical than they actually are. The Mombushō has been supposing that, by the use of superior ethical text-books and by changing somewhat the system of teaching followed in the schools, it had transformed the whole nation, but the disclosures recently made show that the ethical reform was a mere make-believe and that low principles and corruption still prevail almost everywhere. To change the ideas of the people fundamentally at least three generations are required. Before you can get an entirely new class of actions from the people you must supply them with new minds. People are not to be regenerated by laws and rules. We and our neighbours the Chinese place too much confidence in regulations of all kinds. Whenever we discover a defect, we set to work making new laws or rules, and think we have secured reform. No amount of law can change the state of mind which gives rise to abuses of various sorts. We are far too satisfied with mere correctness of form.

AN ANONYMOUS WRITER ON PREVAILING EDUCATIONAL ABUSES.

Nine years ago a writer signing himself "Tokusho-sei" (A Reading Student) contributed to the columns of the *Jiji Shimpō* three very striking articles entitled *Fūryū no Kyōiku no Gaidoku* (The Evils of the Education now in Vogue), which attracted much attention at the time on account of their outspokenness and incisiveness. The following extracts will suffice to show the tenor of the whole attack on the method of teaching morality followed in the majority of State schools even to-day.

We live in an age of pretence and artificiality. Great efforts are made on every hand to cause things to appear other than

they are. Certain classes of people resort openly to display and ostentation, but others, though they possess no genuine love of simplicity, mimic the ways of the deservedly popular unsophisticated type of Japanese. These avowed enemies of ostentation and false show are guilty of the same kind of sham that they denounce in others. Some there are who go further than the imitation of mere manners and affect virtues the possession of which they know to be conducive to popularity. In this part of the world it is far too much the fashion to make a parade of the four great virtues *Chūkō*, *Jingi*, 'loyalty, filial piety, humanity and integrity,'* in order to recommend causes or persons to special notice. It frequently happens, as is conspicuously the case in China at the present time, that the louder the protestations of superior virtue the less there is of the real article. Repeated avowals of readiness to die for the Emperor at a time when there is no occasion whatever for the sacrifice of life on the altar of loyalty, savour of hysteria; and there seems to be no end of this hysteria among school-teachers and students at the present time. A large number of these persons appear to have no conception of the kind of virtues required when peace prevails. This exaltation of military courage and feats of war above the practice of the less showy but far more valuable virtues of everyday life was a habit that prevailed in Japan three centuries ago, and against it Tokugawa Iyasu raised his voice, thereby showing how keen was his discernment of the relative value of moral qualities. "In recent times," said the great Shogun, "the country has been so much disturbed that men have grown to think that merit is to be measured by the amount of blood found on the point of the spear, but this is not the highest state of attainment, this is not real integrity, which consists of the careful avoidance of conduct which is calculated to justly excite the umbrage of the general public in peaceful times." The practice of filling children's minds with tales about ancient heroes who

* In recent years it has come to be the fashion among Japanese writers to omit the two last virtues, as though they were of minor importance, and to preach loyalty to superiors, and filial piety only. This is the line taken in Mr. Sawayanagi's *Kids*.

made wonderful sacrifices, to the exclusion of all other kind of moral teaching, is a decided evil. Extreme cases, such as those usually quoted, are unsuited to the moral needs of boys and girls; for as no occasion is ever likely to occur on which the acts applauded could be repeated even on a small scale, the effect of these tales of heroism on the daily acts of boys and girls is practically nil. In a certain book much perused by the young the conduct of a child of 13 whose step-mother was ill is much praised. This child, in order to propitiate the god to whom it was praying, poured cold water on its body in the depth of winter. This act is foolishly singled out for praise. If the child had set to work and earned money to buy medicine for its step-mother, its conduct would have been worthy of being held up as a model for imitation. The whole tendency of the educational system followed in this country is to create an unnatural state of mind in the boys and girls who attend school. A certain class of precocity mixed with priggishness is developed.†

As a result of the teaching they have received, they have the airs of a man who has become morbidly pessimistic. Here are the words penned by a lad over whose head only twelve summers had passed:—*Somo mukashi wa kaeri-mireba,*

† In Kubō Tenzai's *Kokkei Hyaku Shōwa*, a very amusing collection of witty stories, there is one entitled *An Unfilial Son*, which is worth quoting as an illustration of the effect of tales about filial piety on the minds of many boys and girls. "There was in a certain place an unfilial son, who, on hearing of the twenty-four acts of filial piety, was much affected by the moral excellence of these acts—acts whose subtle merits suffice to move gods and demons—and he thought he would like to try and imitate them if a suitable opportunity occurred. It happened just then that his mother was very seriously ill. So, assuming a very quiet and subdued air, he approached her bedside, and inclining his head close to her ear, in a gentle voice, asked:—'Mother, dear, are you fond of bamboo shoots? Would you like to have some now?' His mother, not in the least affected by his inquiry, impatiently blurted out:—'Where are you going to get bamboo shoots this cold weather?' 'Then,' said the son, 'how about carp? Would you like some carp?' 'With the pond frozen over hard, how are you going to get carp?' inquired the mother. 'Then,' rejoined the son, 'if there is anything else you would like tell me what it is. If it is possible, I will get it.' To which his mother replied:—'I am not anxious for anything in particular, but I don't mind trying a little macaroni.' Whereupon the son flew into a great rage and said:—'You beastly old thing! As if there were anything said in the *Twenty-four Filial Acts* (the title of a noted work) about eating such ordinary food as macaroni!' "

ware wa osanaki koro no waga mama ao hiroku yurushi tamai-shi oya no on-ai katajikenaku mo, namida no lane naranu wa nashi. "When I come to look back on the waywardness of my childish days, though I can not but be grateful for the parental love which so generously forgave it all, I find abundant cause for tears." Another youth of fourteen is found mourning over what he calls the "*pitiable evanescence of human life.*" If at the very threshold of life boys' heads are filled with these sentiments, is it surprising that they should grow up utterly indifferent to the interests and the welfare of the nation to which they belong?

Things have no doubt improved a good deal since these words were penned, but there is little doubt that the scores of cases of boy suicides that were till quite recently reported year after year in this country were largely the result of the morbid sentiments these boys had imbibed while at school, and even to-day extremely pessimistic speeches are constantly made by students, though it is a fact that the number of such speeches is much less than in former years.

MR. M. SAWAYANAGI ON JAPANESE EDUCATION.

On the merits and demerits of Japan's system of education there is perhaps no more voluminous writer and no more trustworthy authority than Mr. M. Sawayanagi, formerly Vice-Minister of Education and now President of the Tōhoku University.* Though he has been connected with officialdom almost continuously since his graduation at the Imperial University in 1888, there is no man in the country who has criticized more trenchantly certain parts of the existing system of education and some of the text-books in use in schools. In an article from his pen which appeared in the *Naiwai Kyōiku Hyōron* in November, 1909, entitled *My impressions on the Moral Text-books used in Middle Schools*, he maintains that the books in question have been compiled on fundamentally wrong principles and that they are quite unsuited to the purpose for which they are used. Judging from

* Recently promoted to the Presidency of the Imperial University in Kyōto.

a number of magazine articles written by him during the past ten years, Mr. Sawayanagi is by no means satisfied with Japan's present system of education. He has visited England several times and is well acquainted with English schools, and he has repeatedly contrasted English methods of teaching and English ways of developing character with the methods followed in Japan and has pronounced the English system of education to be superior in many respects to that in operation in Japan. It would seem that somebody in London started the idea that the success of the Japanese arms in the war against Russia was principally owing to her fine system of education.* The London University took the matter up, and through the proper channels forwarded an application to the Japanese Government, asking them to send an expert to London to deliver a series of lectures on Japanese education. Mr. Sawayanagi was then in England, and as he was recognised to be a great authority on the subject, he was asked to prepare the lectures and deliver them. He did prepare them, but before they could be delivered he returned to Tōkyō to take up his appointment as Vice-Minister of Education, and Baron Kikuchi, who was out of office at the time, was hastily selected to deliver the lectures at the London University. Baron Kikuchi's discourses have since been published by Murray under the title of *Japanese Education*. Having taken the trouble to get ready a treatise on Japanese education which, for various reasons, he did not feel disposed to publish in English, Mr. Sawayanagi, early in 1910, brought out the results of his scholarly investigations in Japanese in the form of a bulky volume consisting of 555 large-sized pages with an appendix 136 pages in length, entitled *Waga Kuni no Kyōiku*. This work is a thorough masterpiece and probably constitutes the most reliable treatise on Japanese education which has been published in the language of this country. In order to convey some idea of the plan of the work, I will first translate the headings of the twenty chapters which form the main part of the treatise. Each chapter is divided into various sections with separate headings.

* This assertion has been repeatedly denied by Japanese military men as well as by civilians who know all the facts bearing on the case.

for which I have no space here. Here is a list of the principal subjects treated. (1) Main Features in the History of Japanese Civilisation. (2) A General History of Japanese Education. (3) The Ideas concerning a learned Education habitually entertained by Society (in the feudal ages). (4) A Scholarly Educationist of pre-Meiji Days — Kaibara Ekiken. (5) Japanese National Morality. (6) The Throne and Japanese Education. (7) A History of the Education of the Meiji Era. (8) The Different Kinds of Schools and the System that Controls them. (9) Primary School Education. (10) Middle School Education. (11) Higher Female General Education. (12) Normal School Education. (13) On the creation of a Special Department for teaching the duties of Citizenship as a branch of General Education. (14) Higher Education. (15) Private Schools and the State. (16) Characteristics of Japanese Modern Education. (17) The School Inspection System. (18) School Hygiene. (19) Study Abroad—the system followed. (20) The Special Character of the Japanese System of Education. These chapters are followed by an account of the education carried on in families and of the Ainu, Formosan, and Okinawa Ken education, and by a very interesting estimate of the amount of influence exercised by English books on the Japanese mind. In the Appendix, after furnishing an outline of the subjects discussed in Baron Kikuchi's English work entitled *Japanese Education* and discussing other topics, Mr. Sawayanagi furnishes a list of all the foreign books which have been translated into Japanese for use in schools, giving the year in which each translation was published and the name of the translator. This part of the work is most valuable.

It may be of some interest to readers of this paper to know what is Mr. Sawayanagi's opinion on a question over which there has been a good deal of controversy among Japanese scholars, moralists and philosophers, namely the relation of the Imperial Rescript on Education, issued October 30th, 1890, to Japanese moral education. Mr. Sawayanagi, like Baron Kikuchi asserts that this Rescript forms the basis of Japanese moral education. But other Japanese scholars have pointed out that the morality taught in schools since 1890 has not been materially different

from that taught in the seventies and the eighties, when teachers had no Imperial Rescript to guide them. There are Japanese scholars, too, who maintain that the language used in the Rescript is too general in character to form the basis of a system of morals. Mr. Sawayanagi agrees with Baron Kikuchi in thinking that it is next to impossible to make foreigners understand clearly what are the ideas entertained by Japanese concerning the Imperial House and its relation to their lives and whole welfare. Here are Mr. Sawayanagi's very words on this subject:—*Wasureware wa kono bansei ikkei no Kōshitsu wo itadaku wo motte, kōei to shi, saiwai to shi, hokori to suru mono de aru. Kono ten wa ikani setsumei suru mo, Nihonjin ni arazaru mono ni wa jūbun ni ryōkai suru koto ga dekinai de arō.* (That we are able to look up to an Imperial House that has continued in one unbroken line for thousands of generations we regard as a rare distinction, as a high favour, as something of which to be proud. It seems to me that no foreigner can properly understand this, however much it may be explained to him).

Mr. Sawayanagi is of opinion that Japan's system of morality differs essentially from anything that is taught and practised in any other country. The *Yamato-damashii* he regards as incapable of being accurately analysed. It is a product of Japanese history. Chivalry, loyalty to superiors, strong filial piety, benevolence, rectitude, a strong regard for etiquette, ardent patriotism and some other elements are indissolubly blended in the Japanese soul, according to Mr. Sawayanagi.

In Chapter XVI. of the *Waga Kuni no Kyōiku* Mr. Sawayanagi sets forth what he conceives to be the particulars in which Japanese education to-day differs from that carried on in Western countries.* These I will briefly state here:—

(1) *The immense importance attached to the State in the Japanese School System.*—In England, says Mr. Sawayanagi, the chief object of education is considered to be the development of the individual boy or girl for his or her own sake. Here the principal

* It will be seen that the difference alluded to only applies to one or two particulars, and not to all the five characteristics of Japanese education specified.

aim of our school system is to prepare boys and girls for serving the State. This subservience of all teaching to State interests is to be traced to Confucian precepts and doctrines. Among the opening passages of the *Great Learning* there is one that represents the proper government of the country and universal peace to be the ultimate aim of all teaching and all learning. The stages through which the properly educated man passes according to the teaching of Confucius in the passage quoted by Mr. Sawayanagi are (a) the acquirement of knowledge by study; (b) sincerity of purpose; (c) integrity of heart; (d) thorough self-control; (e) proper management of a household; (f) efficient government of a country and the establishment of a reign of peace.*

(2) *Japanese education attaches great importance to morality.*—Mr. Sawayanagi expresses himself very strongly on this point. He maintains that the view held in the Tokugawa era as to the main object of education being a moral one is endorsed by Japanese public opinion to-day (*Konnichi ni oite wa dōtoku kyōiku wa Nihon kyōiku no chūshin wo nashite oru*). With the object of strengthening their position, the Japanese educationists who favour this view have translated and expounded Herbart's works. Herbart held that the final aim of all education is the production of fine types of moral character. The admirers of Herbart in this country are still very numerous among educationists, and Mr. Sawayanagi finds great satisfaction in recording this fact.

(3) *Japanese education has no connection with religion.*—In England and Germany up to the present time it has been found almost impossible to separate education from religion, but their close connection has given rise to all manner of disputes and inconveniences. No doubt England and Germany will eventually follow in the wake of France and other countries and banish religion from State schools. However this may be, Japan has every reason to congratulate herself on the course she has scrupulously

* In the Japanese version of the *Daigaku* the passage quoted by Mr. Sawayanagi begins: *Momo itate, shikōshite nochi chi itaru, chi itatte, shikōshite nochi makoto nari*, and ends with the words *tenka sairaku nari*.

adopted in this matter. Mr. Sawayanagi says that though all Japanese have a respect for the Shintō Gods, from Amaterasu-O-mi-Kami downwards, there is no religious worship of these Gods. Shintoism is not a religion at all, in Mr. Sawayanagi's opinion. To those who affirm that it is a grave defect of Japanese education that it is not based on religion, Mr. Sawayanagi replies that, though he himself believes in religion (he is a Buddhist), and wishes to see his fellow-countrymen becoming religious, he is strongly of opinion that education should be kept secular, in accordance with its main object, which is preparation for the duties of life. It is to be regretted, he thinks, that certain European countries should still be maintaining a connection which had its origin in religious beliefs that the majority of people have abandoned.

(4) *Japanese education is intensely practical and modern in character.*—The knowledge imparted in our schools, says Mr. Sawayanagi, is for everyday use. We attach very little importance to the Chinese classical writings. The Chinese style of composition is not resorted to except for ceremonies, epitaphs and inscriptions of various kinds. To-day Chinese hardly ranks as high in Japan as Latin in Europe.

(5) *Japanese teachers are ever ready to adopt new theories and to carry them out.*—We are open-minded and willing to be led, says Mr. Sawayanagi. We try our best to keep up to the times in everything. When we get hold of a new idea we act on it. Pedagogy as taught in Germany and elsewhere has been studied by us and the methods of teaching recommended have been carried out in our schools.*

Mr. Sawayanagi is of opinion that a better supply of experienced teachers for all schools is a great want of the times. Most of the men employed are younger than is desirable. Good teachers who have reached the age of 50 are very rare. Most of the men now teaching are between 30 and 40 years of age. The teaching as it is carried on to-day is full of imperfections.

* In High Schools and Universities teachers are no doubt at liberty to teach pretty much as they please, but in the Primary and Middle Schools, speaking generally, no such liberty is allowed.

says Mr. Sawayanagi. But he adds the following concluding remarks:—Things are improving all the time, and they will go on improving. Our system of education should not be judged too hastily by foreign critics. What they see to-day will be gone to-morrow at the rate we are now progressing. We are in the midst of a transition period and hence the time is rather unfavourable for explaining our system to foreigners. If they will wait for another ten years, we feel confident that we shall have things to show them of which we shall be proud and which will prove serviceable to them for reference. (*Yo ga konnichi Nihon no kyōiku ni tsuite shokun ni o-hanashi suru no wa jiki ga yoroshikunai. Moshi jū nen nochi ni oite o-hanashi suru no de arō naraba, yo wa jimon suru ikuta no koto-gara wo motte suru koto ga dekiru de arō to shinau*).*

It has to be borne in mind in reading Baron Kikuchi's work on Japanese education and Mr. Sawayanagi's more elaborate treatise on the same subject that both books were written in response to a request made by Englishmen, and so they naturally present the whole subject in the most favourable light possible. On other occasions both these writers have expressed strong disapproval of many of the educational methods in vogue in this country. Mr. Sawayanagi not so very long ago admitted in an unmistakable way that up to the present time Japanese education has failed to eradicate certain characteristics of the Japanese people that he considers are a hindrance to their success as colonists. An extra number of the *Tōyō* issued in November, 1910, entitled *Nihon Minzoku no Bōchō* contained the following remarks on Japanese national character, penned by Mr. Sawayanagi:—Japan's ambition to rank among the great nations of the world, even supposing that it is never realized, is a praiseworthy one. But to me this appears to be no vain ambition. I think we have it in us to become a great nation. No people have in past ages been more ready to learn

* In many parts of the *Waga Kuni no Kyōiku* there appear literal translations of portions of the lectures prepared for delivery at the London University. This accounts for the use of the 2nd person in the above passage.

from others and to assimilate all the knowledge acquired than we have been. Of course the belief in our future greatness may be called national vanity. But what country is there that is free from this weakness, if weakness it is to be regarded? I myself have great confidence in our future, but in order to become truly great, there are certain national defects that we have to get rid of. I will enumerate them here.

(1) *We are lacking in endurance.*—We have for some time past been trying to cultivate the spirit of perseverance and tenacity of purpose, but the progress made by our young people in this line is slow.

(2) *Compared to Occidentals, we lack moral courage.*—We have animal courage. We can fight and die bravely on the battle-field. But in the possession of the courage that has no connection with animal spirits, the quiet courage to defend those who are right against those who are wrong and the courage to perform certain arduous duties devolving on us in the positions we occupy, we are far behind Europeans and Americans. (*Ket-ki wo majiezaru yūki, sunawachi chinkyū* [沈黙], *giyū, moshikuba heiso no shokumu-jō, jigyō-jō no yūki ni itatte wa, ikan nagara, kare ni ototte iru*).

(3) *We are content with small accomplishments* and are lacking in the ambition to plan and to carry out big schemes.

(4) *We are not by nature adventurous.*—For successful colonization the spirit of adventure is necessary. Had we been more adventurous, we should have witnessed a far greater expansion in foreign lands during the past fifty years than has actually taken place. The emigrants who have gone abroad have been urged and helped to do so by emigration companies. It was not the spirit of adventure that set them moving.

(5) *We do not readily unite nor co-operate with each other.*—From ancient times repeated efforts have been made by school-teachers and others to get rid of the quarrelsome propensity which characterizes our people, but with very meagre results (*jijitsu ni oite sono kōkwa ga agatte inai*). It is bad enough to see the factional spirit prevailing among all classes here in our own country, but to find Japanese abroad living in jealousy of each

other, waiting to trip each other up and slandering each other to foreigners, is a state of things that is too pitiable for words (*hyō suru kotoba mo nai hodo nasake ni ushidai de aru*). Where is the nation that acts thus in a foreign land? Germans and Englishmen may quarrel at home, but when they go abroad they respectively show a united front to other nationalities.

With the exception of our readiness to make good our deficiencies by taking all that is of value from other nations (*saichō hotan*) there is not a single particular in which we are not much behind Occidentals. (*Yō suru ni saichō hotan no itten wozozoite wa, izure no ten ni oite mo, ware wa kōtei Seiyōjin ni oyobanai no de aru*). But still this does not imply that it is impossible for us to make good our defects. We can do this, and it is my belief we shall do it. But we must get rid of our self-satisfaction and vaingloriousness. From the future I expect great things (*Teikoku no kibō wa shōrai ni ari; genzai ni arazu*).

THE JAPANESE MIND NEEDS WIDER CULTURE.

Though just at present a wave of conservative thought seems to be sweeping over the educational world, this does not mean that Japan's clock is about to be put back and that the Japanese are going to revert to their old narrow insularity and exclusiveness. Fortunately there are hundreds of enlightened men in this country who are in favour of broader culture than has been possible till recent years. With a quotation from one of the leading spirits at the great Waseda School, Mr. Shimamura Hōgetsu, the Editor of the *Waseda Bungaku*, I will close the discussion of education, leaving readers to form their own conclusions as to which of the many different opinions quoted are most reliable. The views I am about to give were expressed in an article contributed to the book from which I have just been quoting, *The Expansion of Japan*. Count Ōkuma once said, observes Mr. Shimamura, that our national strength comes from the blending of races. This is no doubt true to a certain extent, but for the past fifteen hundred years there has been next to no mixture of blood in our race development. We lived apart from

the world till about fifty years ago, neither allowing foreigners to tarry here and intermarry with us, nor ourselves going in large numbers to other countries and contracting alliances there. Our civilisation, our literature, our art, our ethics and our religion have all been developed along our own lines. What we have borrowed from other countries we have assimilated, and we have only taken what we have found to be assimilable. But our dissimilarity to other nations, puzzling as it may seem to foreign students of Japan, regarded in the light of modern knowledge, is seen to involve many losses. Satisfaction with the civilisation, the literature or the art which we have inherited from our forefathers, is not felt by most of our highly educated men to-day. We hold that the nation is capable of accomplishing greater feats than it has yet achieved. How can those who live in an atmosphere of strong individualism be content with the quiet passivity, reserve and self-effacement which characterized our national life in former times? The great interest attached to the settlement of Japanese in foreign countries is this: brought under entirely new influences, with a fresh environment, with different models ever before their eyes, breathing different air, gazing on another heaven and earth, with new inspiration and new ideals, it stands to reason that Japanese will be transformed almost to the extent of being unrecognizable. The broader the culture the finer the type of man produced. What we have become as a result of subjection to narrow insular influences can be no criterion of what we shall grow into when brought under the spell of all the enlightening and elevating influences of the big outside world. The notion that to place ourselves under the tutorage of the great outside world and to become thoroughly permeated with its spirit will involve the loss of our best characteristics is false. Our character as a nation can receive no harm from that widening of views and deepening of convictions which close intercourse with alien peoples and a study of their civilisations are designed to effect. For the nation to figure as one of the world's curiosities principally because of the secluded life it passed for centuries is by no means the height of our ambition. We believe that long residence in foreign lands will result in the

production of finer types of Japanese human nature than any we have as yet been able to turn out here.

CHAPTER XI.

POLITICS.

A GENERAL SURVEY OF THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

Is it because they are so difficult to understand that politics have such a fascination for some minds? Many people love the excitement of the surprises which are sprung on them in the political world. They like to feel that nobody quite knows what is going to happen next. The General Election which resulted in the overthrow of the Balfour Government some years ago astonished most of the political wiseacres. In the game of politics there is so much that is going on behind the scenes which affects the situation that not even the men who devote their whole lives to the study of political movements can tell us what will be the next move on the political chess-board. If the politics of one's own country are often enshrouded in obscurity that seems to be quite impenetrable, how much greater is the unintelligibility likely to be in the case of Japanese politics! I have spent over thirty years in studying Japanese politics by the aid of Japanese contemporary literature. I have reproduced in English many hundreds of articles written by political leaders and critics, but still I have the feeling that there is much that is puzzling, much that nobody has explained in Japanese politics. The main conclusion I have reached is that the Japanese themselves don't quite know what they want. It is no cause for surprise that they should be perplexed as to what to adopt and what to reject. The whole of the Western world is engaged in experimenting with different forms of government and endeavouring to discover what is the golden mean between despotic monarchy and resort to the referendum on all occasions. Democracy is supposed to be the best form of government. But democracy in America and democracy in France and, according to some great authorities, democracy in England, has worked badly. Much valuable information on this subject will be found in Mr.

Lecky's highly interesting and scholarly work *Democracy and Liberty*. Mr. Lecky contends that English democracy is growing to be more and more the enemy of liberty and makes for bad government. He says:—"One of the great divisions of politics in our day is coming to be whether, at the last resort, the world should be governed by its ignorance or by its intelligence." He points out that the poorest, the most ignorant and the most incapable are bound to be the most numerous, and that to place government more and more under the control of the least enlightened classes must lead to its degradation. "*In every field of human enterprise,*" says Mr. Lecky, "*in all the competitions of life, by the inexorable law of nature, superiority lies with the few and not with the many, and success can only be attained by placing the guiding and controlling power mainly in their hands.*"

The question of questions for Japan to settle to-day is the extent to which it is advisable for her to adopt a democratic form of government. The cry in this country during the past thirty years has been for *minsei*, *minken*, and *jiyū* (popular government, popular rights, and liberty), and those who have raised this cry have taken it for granted that where there is democracy there will always be liberty, but Mr. Lecky in a work covering no less than 1,127 pages, has conclusively shown that in most of the republics of modern times democracy, instead of furthering the cause of liberty, has proved to be its arch-enemy and that the despotism of numbers has turned out to be the most terrible of all despotisms. Let not Japan suppose that in government there exists any model that she can safely follow. She has to solve her own special problem in her own way. The great Powers of the West like herself are mere political experimenters. Some of the apparently grandest of theories have proved delusions when put into practice. Constitutions that have been drawn up with consummate skill have been so debased in practice as to be no longer recognizable. It remains to be seen how the Japanese Constitution is going to work. That it is working badly now is the opinion of the majority of Japanese publicists. There are some Japanese writers who go further than this and assert that the Constitution exists on paper only and the government

of the country is being carried on in defiance of it. On this subject I shall quote from Japanese writers later on.

Japan has been experimenting with various forms of government during the past two or three decades. As Captain Brinkley observes in his book on Japan:—"She has tried government by the united Clan statesmen independently of political parties. She has tried government by the Clan statesmen in coalition with a political party. She has tried government by combined political parties independently of the Clan statesmen.* She is now trying government by a section of the Clan statesmen independently of the other section. All possible variations may be said to have been exhausted." The question as to whether party-government can be made a success in this country or not remains unsettled. In England representative government may be said to date from the reign of Edward I, if not from a still earlier period. It now possesses the stability which centuries of gradual growth are wont to give to such institutions.† Japan's present system of government can not be said to have grown out of her past history. It is a new shoot that has been grafted on to the old stock. The old stock is still very prominent and will be so for another ten or twenty years, if not for a much longer period. One of the difficulties connected with the successful working of parliamentary institutions in this country has been the impossibility of inducing middle-aged men of education, business experience and character to offer themselves as candidates for election to the House of Representatives. Most of the members of that House have been too young and unbalanced in mind to take part in the work of legislation. Con-

* This is not quite correct, as in the Ōkuma-Itagaki Cabinet of 1898 there were several clan statesmen.

† The American form of government, as Bryce shows in *The American Commonwealth*, was mainly founded on the English system. Of the framers of the American Constitution Bryce writes:—"They had neither the rashness nor the capacity necessary for constructing a Constitution *a priori*. There is wonderfully little genuine inventiveness in the world, and perhaps least of all has been shown in the sphere of political institutions. These men, practical politicians who knew how infinitely difficult a business government is, desired no bold experiments. They preferred to follow methods which experience had tested."

sequently the discussion of great political, financial and commercial questions by the Lower House has too often been lacking in dignity, seriousness and thoroughness.

In order to render parliamentary government a success, not only must the members of the two Houses be educated in a special manner, but the whole body of electors throughout the country must be made acquainted with the vital questions of the day and must possess sufficient information to enable them to decide which of two or more proposed courses it is best for the country to follow. Is the political education of the masses being carried on in a satisfactory manner? Nobody can truthfully say it is. Less is being done in this direction to-day than was attempted a decade ago.

There are politicians in this country who seem to think that since Japan is plainly not ready for party-government, she can not do better than so arrange matters that interference with the executive by the legislature shall be next to impossible. Because much of the action of the Diet when in opposition to the Government has been injudicious, certain Japanese onlookers are in favour of rendering the Cabinet almost entirely independent of the Diet, and they seem to think that this can be effected without getting rid of the Constitution; though there are a few who are so disheartened by the goings-on in the Diet that they would fain see the country resorting in a whole-hearted manner to the pre-Constitution bureaucracy. But it must be quite plain to the majority of thoughtful politicians that one of the chief objects of constitutional government is to enable the legislature to exercise control over the executive. It is this consideration which makes foreign onlookers regard the failure to establish party-government in this country as a serious check to the development of representative government. If any Cabinet that happens to be in power can practically defy, silence, or in any way overawe political parties by the use of certain authority vested in it, or by any other means, then the legislature in this country can not possibly exercise the functions that are exercised in England by the two Houses of Parliament. The Diet exists not merely to make laws and sanction certain taxes,

but also to inquire into the manner in which each Department of State administers its affairs and to criticize the home and foreign policy of the Government. Some of the most useful discussions carried on in the English House of Commons concern methods of administration. In order to be rendered thoroughly efficient, government must be conducted on business principles. Now, the business men who constitute the great bulk of our English members of Parliament are usually very good judges of administration, and hence it has often happened that radical reforms in administration have followed the trenchant criticism to which defective methods have been subjected in Parliament. This is what we want to see here, but which we shall not see for many a long day, for reasons which will be given later on in this paper.

Now, it is only fair to the leaders of political parties in Japan to state that they have from the very outset always had to encounter what they consider to be unfair interference with the liberty, the opinions and the action of private citizens by Government officials. Count Ōkuma and other leading statesmen have repeatedly protested against the manner in which the Government has influenced elections and done its best to suppress free political discussion in the Imperial Universities and in Government Schools. It is alleged that most of the corruption that exists in political parties to-day is the result of the manner in which the Government has resorted to bribery. Of course it is quite impossible for a foreigner to find out exactly how much truth there is in the many charges that are brought against the anti-party officials in this connection. But when we find men like Count Ōkuma, Mr. Inukai Ki and a number of highly respected and highly honourable writers in the *Taiyō* and some of the newspapers endorsing the most serious of these charges, it is impossible to dismiss them as nothing more than malicious newspaper slanders. It is then quite correct to affirm that the slow development of party-government in this country is largely owing to the determined stand against this form of government which Japanese officialdom has made. And at present no signs of any change in the official attitude to parties are to be seen.

COMMENTS ON JAPANESE POLITICS BY THE LATE
MR. TOYABE SHUNTEI.

In my opinion no writer in the Meiji era has approached the late Mr. Toyabe Shuntei as an exponent and a critic of modern Japanese politics.* His articles have all been collected and published in two bulky volumes entitled *Meiji Jimbutsu Gettan*. These books constitute an exhaustive history of the political development of the Meiji era. All the essays originally appeared in the pages of the *Taiyō*. The article from which I shall now quote is entitled *Two Planets of the Itō Solar System*. It came out in March, 1906, just after Baron Kaneko and Baron Suematsu, the two men referred to, had returned from England and America, whither they went on a somewhat delicate and difficult mission at the beginning of the Russo-Japanese war. They did their work well, and the Japanese public seems to have expected that they would be rewarded for their services by the occupation of seats in the newly formed Saionji Cabinet. Their positions as statesmen appear to have warranted this expectation. Not only were they excluded from the Cabinet, but younger men were elevated to the charge of portfolios over their heads. After dwelling on the circumstance that the two Barons were entirely dependent for their promotion on Itō and quoting numerous facts to show that Itō's acceptance of the post of Resident-General in Korea brought his political career in Japan to an end, Toyabe proceeds thus:—Among the followers of Marquis Itō there are to-day no greater men than the two Barons who have lately returned from England and America. And what do we see? We see them both wandering aimlessly in space like planets which have lost their sun. Neither one of them is sufficiently great to stand alone in the political world (*Ryō Danshaku wa motoyori Bunnō* (文王) *naku shite, okoru no goketsu ni*

* Numerous epitomes of these sketches prepared by me have been published in newspapers and magazines from time to time during the past ten years. Toyabe wrote for the *Taiyō* first from 1897 to 1899 and then from 1902 to 1903, the year of his death.

arazu).^{*} But it is quite plain that they can no longer be content to rely on the remaining force of the Itô momentum (*daryoku*) in our political world. They must strike out in some way or other on lines of their own. At one time they were both active workers in the ranks of the Seiyūkai. They figured largely in the proceedings of the Party. But they gained nothing worth having by their lengthy connection with the Seiyūkai. They find themselves politically no better off to-day than Itô Miyōji, who has always kept aloof from the Party. The two Barons having thoroughly imbibed English and American notions on party politics are, one would think, eminently fitted to play an important part in the development of party-government in this country. But the fact is that we are still miles distant from the English and American stage of party politics, and so the country is not ready to make a proper use of these two Occidentalized statesmen. The whole political system is still in a terribly backward condition. The methods of selecting candidates for Diet membership and the methods of influencing and controlling the members after their election will not bear close scrutiny. Corruption abounds everywhere, and so it happens that the right kind of men are not chosen. The relation of municipal government to national government in this country is not what it ought to be. The influence of local officials is perpetually employed in the interests of the party in power in Tōkyō in an unfair manner.

Looking closely at our political world to-day, one can not but feel that the whole future of political parties and factions is uncertain. There is a growing feeling of contempt for political parties, and not a few hold that it is an honour not to belong to them. When men perceived a few months ago, that, despite the fact that Marquis Saionji is the President of the Seiyūkai, he was obliged to concede to the wishes of Count Katsura to such an extent as, with two exceptions (Hara Kei and Matsuda Masahisa), to draw on the ranks of officialdom for his supply of

^{*} Highly figurative. Bunnō was the name of a famous Chinese Emperor (Wan-wang) who patronized promising men.

Cabinet Ministers, leaving the Seiyūkai to a large extent out in the cold, they naturally at once jumped to the conclusion that in the political arena of Japan to-day political parties count for little. If the powerful Seiyūkai made such a poor show, what hope is there for smaller bodies? The country believes in officials because among them both knowledge and character are to be seen. The only hope for political parties must come from their possessing a better set of men taken all round than officialdom can show. This Marquis Itō knew when he founded the Seiyūkai. But he failed to bring the Party up to the required standard. Marquis Saionji cannot be said to have succeeded better than his predecessor in office. The Party has gone on degenerating in every way. So Marquis Saionji knows better than anybody that he cannot rely on it at this crisis. His position at the head of the Cabinet to-day is dependent on the Yamagata faction, that is, upon the anti-party politicians. Yamagata's followers have shaken themselves free from clannism.* Their conviction is that in Japan to-day permanent officials supply the best material for the formation of future Cabinets. They are anti-party politicians to the heart's core. They dominate the political world, and the only hope of effecting their overthrow lies in the possibility of a union between Count Ōkuma and Marquis Itō. Count Ōkuma is known to desire this, but he naturally expects Marquis Itō to be the one to make the first move towards bringing it about. If the two statesmen could manage to work together they could doubtless rehabilitate party politicians in an effective manner. The Yamagata faction does not depend on him at all for its strength. Its coherency is assured by identity of interests among the members of the great

* This was shown by the character of the Saionji Cabinet referred to above. The two great clans, Satsuma and Chōshū, had only three representatives in that Cabinet, Terauchi, Minister of War, Yamagata Isaburō, Minister of Communications, and Makino, Minister of Education. All the other Ministers came from different provinces. That Ministry was the most national that had been formed up to that time. Hara and Saitō came from Iwate-ken (N.E. Japan), Sakatani from Okayama (Chūgoku), Matsuoka from Tokushima (Shikoku), Matsuda from Hizen (Kyūshū), Terauchi and Yamagata from Yamaguchi and Makino from Kagoshima, so the three represented Satsuma and Chōshū.

organization, and its popularity will last as long as it displays administrative ability of a higher order than that shown by its rivals, the political party magnates. The compactness of the great official association to-day forms a striking contrast to the disjointed character of the organizations known as political parties, whose members are like a flock of crows each of which comes and goes as he pleases. Marquis Itô's name will always be held in high esteem by high and low in this country on account of his personal worth, his many meritorious services and his great talents, but in party organization he has signally failed. The Itô faction is now utterly powerless in the State (*Iwazuru Itô-kei naru mono wa ima ya seijika ni oite naura no seiryoku wo yû suru mono ni arazu*). All those who have hitherto depended on the spell attached to the great statesman's name will have henceforth to shift for themselves. Among these the two Barons who have lately returned to our shores naturally attract most attention. They will no doubt both make careers for themselves later on, but the position in which they find themselves to-day is so largely the result of the trend of political opinion and the general tendency of affairs in this country that we owe no apology to them for discussing their cases so minutely. We do not attach any blame to Marquis Itô for what has happened. The wagging of our political world not even a Marquis Itô can control, and it has wagged in such a way that two promising statesmen are by the force of uncontrollable circumstances left out in the cold. That is all. But it is with the spirit of the age, rather than the destinies of individual statesmen, that we are most concerned. Individuals, however strong swimmers they may be, are swept along by irresistible political currents.

THE GENRÔ.

In this country it is often very hard to find out who is actually governing. The power of the wire-pullers who keep behind the scenes is immense.* For at least fifteen years past there have

* This remark applies to the Army, the Navy and to all schools. From force of habit the Japanese take very kindly to the *kyōmaku* system. In France they may *chercher la femme*, but here the search is for the man who stands behind "the black curtain."

been vigorous periodical protests against the control of State affairs exercised by the Elder Statesmen. A very strong article on this subject appeared in the *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* on June 23rd, 1903,* which concluded with the words:—"The organ known as the Elder Statesman is a useless excrescence that disfigures the body of the Constitution. There is nothing for it but to ignore the existence of these statesmen; there is nothing for it but to bring about their final overthrow" (*mushi suru ni shikazu; shōmetsu suru ni shikazu*). In October, 1907, a very striking anonymous article came out in the *Chūō Kōron*† entitled *The Age of the Elder Statesmen is Past*. This writer says:—"If we were asked to determine when approximately the power of the Elder Statesmen was at its height, we should say prior to the year 1900, the year in which the Boxer disturbances took place in China. After that the influence of the Elder Statesmen began to wane." The term Elder Statesmen is applied by this writer to the late Marquis Saigō, Prince Itō, Prince Yamagata, Marquis Inoue, Prince Ōyama and Marquis Matsukata, making altogether three Satsuma men and three Chōshū men. Among these Prince Yamagata alone is influential to day. The July *Taiyō* that same year (1907) devoted no less than twenty-one pages to the discussion of the position held by the *Genrō* in the Japanese political world and to the relations of these statesmen to each other and to the modern schools of politicians. In this article it was stated that both Prince Katsura and Marquis Saionji resent the interference of the Elder Statesmen and that they have both repeatedly stated this openly. When the few remaining *Genrō* die off or retire into private life, will the functions hitherto performed by them along with the very name *Genrō* cease to exist, or will there arise a new set of *Genrō*, who will by the office they fill make it plain that the counsel of this class of statesmen so conduces to the stability and efficiency of the State

* It was entitled "The Elder Statesmen must be Disregarded." A literal translation of the whole of the article will be found in Book II. of my *Specimens of Translation* (Kyōbunkan, Tōkyō, 1906).

† The original of the whole article will be found in my *Specimens of Translation*, Book III., p. 87 *seq.*

that it cannot be dispensed with? This question cannot be answered now. Much will depend on the part played by the Diet hereafter and the amount of power entrusted to it.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF JAPANESE DIPLOMACY.

A writer in the *Taiyō* in August, 1907, devoted twenty pages to a history of Japanese diplomacy, from which I call the following facts. The first name given to what we now know as the Foreign Office was *Gwaikoku Jimu-kakari*. This was subsequently altered to *Gwaikoku Jimu-kyoku*. The head of the Bureau was first called *Sōsai* and afterwards *Toku*. The next title the office received was *Gwaikokutan*, and the Minister was called *Gwaikokuren Chiji*; the Vice-Minister being called *Fuku Chiji*. The present Foreign Office (*Gwaishushō*) was established in 1869, Fukujima being the first Foreign Minister (*Gwaishumukyō*). In the early years of the Department's history Ōkubo's views were the predominating factor. Then came the influence of Count Terajima, who strenuously opposed undue haste in the path of progress. He held office for six years, during which time, besides Treaty Revision, numerous important questions were under discussion. The Count disapproved of all radical measures. In Treaty Revision he only proposed beginning with the recovery of tariff autonomy. The period which followed under the leadership of Count Inoue was marked by the advocacy of the Occidentalization of Japan and the Japanese. This Count Inoue deemed to be the best way of inducing the Powers to agree to Treaty Revision. Foreign dress, foreign dancing, fancy dress balls, foreign fashions of all sorts were lauded in a most wholesale manner, and for a time they caught the fancy of the public. But Count Inoue's conciliatory policy failed to bring about the desired end, and it was succeeded by what was known as the "Stalwart Policy" of Count Ōkuma. But the Count's proposal to establish Mixed Courts in this country met with the most violent opposition, and he barely escaped assassination. He was succeeded by Viscount Aoki, who held office from December, 1889, to May, 1891. His administration was very colourless.

He gave place to the strongest Foreign Minister Japan has had, the late Count Mutsu, who did more to make the Foreign Office what it is to-day than any of his predecessors. His powerful personality and thorough knowledge of foreign affairs bore fruit in every bureau of the Department and his fame spread to every country with which we had relations. The men who have figured most in our diplomacy in recent years were almost all carefully selected by the late Count Mutsu. Our Foreign Office has now begun to figure big in international affairs and our diplomatic victories will certainly prove to be as far reaching in their effects as the success of our arms.

MR. SHIMADA SABURŌ ON JAPANESE CONSTITUTIONAL
GOVERNMENT.

Mr. Shimada Saburō is one of those politicians who has spent his whole life in the endeavour to further the cause of democratic government in this country. But he constantly speaks in despondent tones concerning the success which is crowning his efforts. Writing in the *Taiyō* a few years ago, he expressed himself thus :—"Constitutional Government is getting to be a perfect farce in this country, owing to the enormous amount of corruption prevailing in existing political parties. When first the corruptibility of members of the Diet was talked about some years ago, it created a certain amount of surprise in the country. But to day everybody is accustomed to the spectacle of a big political party acting as a mere tool of the Government, after it has lost all independence of spirit and got rid of the last vestige of self-respect. In every constitutional country when a war is over the people who send representatives to legislative assemblies insist on a certain amount of relaxation from the heavy taxation which is necessary in time of war. This year the Government made no attempt to reduce taxation. They brought forward a Budget of unprecedented size, running up to 610 million yen. The Seiyūkai did not attempt to reduce it by a single yen.....Our Diet only excites itself when something affecting the pockets of members comes up for discussion. Most of the members have no public spirit, no sense

of justice, no sympathy with the people they represent. We know of no case in the history of constitutional government in which in time of peace a Budget so unprecedentedly big compared to all previous Budgets, drawn up on a peace footing, as was ours this year, was quietly passed through a Lower House without a single alteration. The Government is largely to be blamed for the backward condition of our constituencies, for they have done nothing towards instructing the people as to their duties as voters. What they could accomplish in this line is well illustrated by their action in connection with the application of the Conscription Laws. When first these laws came into operation they were most unpopular. The plebeians to whom they applied, accustomed to feudal ways, maintained that the defence of the country was something for which the *shizoku* alone were responsible. But the Government took pains to educate the people up to the new function they had to fulfil. They were taught to regard themselves as responsible for the empire. They were pleased with the confidence placed in them, and so we obtained an army composed chiefly of plebeians whose exploits astonished the whole world. Now, if successive Cabinets had up to the present time laboured hard to prepare the minds of citizens for the political functions they are required to fill under a constitutional system of government, we should not find ourselves situated as we are to-day. The Government has not merely neglected to instruct constituents, but on several occasions it has actually helped to corrupt them during the carrying on of elections."

EXISTING MILITARISM AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

On this subject I shall quote from two writers in the *Taiyō* of March, 1908, Baron Shibusawa and Mr. Shimada Saburō.

Baron Shibusawa :—The post-bellum policy of the Saionji Government was diametrically wrong in principle. I myself pointed this out to Mr. Sakatani, but he stuck to his opinions and the Government set out on its crooked financial career, with what results the country knows too well. This is not the first time by any means that Government financiers have failed to see

dangers that are plain enough to business men. In feudal times it was thought that civilians existed and worked for the sake of the warrior class. Wealth was accumulated in order to be squandered in war. The utter indifference to the welfare and the happiness of the nation as a whole shown by the present Government makes me ask, do the people of this country exist for the sake of the military-classes, or do the military classes exist for the sake of the people? I regret to say that the financial programme of the Government certainly seems to indicate that they take the former view, though I do not think it is the view taken by the soldiers themselves or by the majority of our politicians (*Konnichi no waga seijika, gunjin wa moto yori kokumin wo gumbi no dōgu ni toukaru to kangaeu de aru to wa omowarenu, keredomo kaku no gotoki zaisei no tate-kata wo nashite oru tokoro yori mireba, aruwa kokumin wa senseō jō hitōyō de aru to no gotoki mikata de wa nai ka to omowareru arisama de aru. Kore wa hanahada ikan na shidai de aru*).

Mr. Shimada Saburō:—Politically Japanese are to-day divided into two great parties, namely, those who think to advance the interests of the country and increase its prestige in the world by means of increased armaments and those who believe that the basis of true stability and permanent greatness consists in industrial and commercial development and in the growth of thrift and resourcefulness among Japan's peaceful citizens. The Government, backed by the Seiyūkai and the Daidō Club, is on the side of militarism. The anti-military phalanx consists of the Shimpotō and the Yūkōkai. All sound-minded private citizens are in favour of cutting down military expenditure and laying out more money on productive enterprises. But the majority of our people are quite indifferent to politics. It is only nineteen years since constitutional government was established, and the bulk of the nation is by no means enthusiastic in its support of this form of government.* Hence the difficulty of

* It must not be overlooked that the Japanese nation as a whole did not agitate for a Constitution in the early years of the Meiji era. The agitation was wholly worked up by a comparatively small section of politicians who desired to share political power with the Clan leaders. This explains the subsequent indifference of the bulk of the nation.

altering the political situation by constitutional means. There is no getting over the fact that our expenditure to-day is out of proportion to our revenue. England, whose export and import trade is worth one thousand and sixty million *yen*, spends only fourteen hundred million on administration, but Japan, with a trade that is only worth nine hundred million *yen*, spends six hundred million on the same object (*Seiji no kiyō wa roku oku nari*). ■ in time of peace our present gigantic outlay on unproductive enterprises is to be kept up, what would happen if another big war had to be faced ?

STATE ABSOLUTISM AND ITS BASIS.

State absolutism is preached to day for all it is worth in this country. A very enlightening essay of considerable length was contributed to the *Tetsugaku Zasshi* by Dr. N. Ariga three years ago, which is of some interest to-day in connection with the recent utterances of Ministers of State on the worship of the Gods. The title of Dr. Ariga's article was *Nihon Kokumin no Seishin-jō no Gimon* (*A Doubt in the Minds of the Nation*). The first part of the essay is historical. It shows in a clear and an interesting way how for many centuries reverence for the Emperor was always connected with reverence for the Gods. The Emperor's authority was great because it represented the authority of personages who were regarded as greater than himself. With the introduction of Buddhism and Confucianism, this sentiment was considerably weakened, leading eventually to the usurpation of authority that belonged to the Imperial family by Shōguns, which usurpation lasted for many centuries. When at the beginning of the present era supreme authority was again restored to the Emperor, sundry attempts were made to resuscitate the old belief in Shintōism, the old reverence for the throne based on theocracy. But these attempts mostly ended in failure owing to the power of certain modern influences. The granting of the Constitution, the introduction of foreign learning, the propagation of Christianity and extensive intercourse with other countries, all tended to weaken the belief that the human authority wielded by the Emperor rests on Divine authority.

Dr. Ariga writes regretfully of the change in sentiment that came over the nation during the first two decades of the Meiji era, and seems to think that the State absolutism which in recent years has been preached by certain politicians is distinctly inferior to the Imperial absolutism which had the authority of the Gods as its basis. There was a time, says Dr. Ariga, when to be a Japanese was to accept the teaching of the *Kannushi* in reference to the manner in which the Japanese State was first established, when to reject Shintōism was regarded as impossible as denying history (*Nihon no kokumin ni totte wa Shintō wa shinjuru, shinjinai no ron de nai*). But since Shintō has been regarded as on a level with other religions, which, according to an article in the Constitution, can be accepted or rejected at will by Japanese subjects, the old theocratic basis of our State authority can no longer be said to exist, and, to me it seems, says Dr. Ariga, that modern attempts to find a suitable substitute for this basis have signally failed. When men thought that in serving the State they were serving the Gods, they served it gladly, and made great sacrifices for it from religious motives. But now this feeling exists no longer. The State absolutism which is taught in this country to-day, proceeds Dr. Ariga, is opposed by all those who, like the late Mr. Fukuzawa, preach individualism and independence as a fundamental ethical principle. The Mita system of ethics is founded on self-respect and independence. According to this system each individual's moral standard is settled by himself or herself, and so it goes without saying that State absolutism becomes impossible.

Dr. Ariga proceeds to point out the defects of the State absolutism now in vogue in this country in the following terms:—

(1) *The morality of this State Absolutism is shallow.*—For a State to say that there is nothing above it, nothing more to be feared or to be revered, for it to constitute itself the final court of appeal in moral matters produces an unfavourable impression on the subjects of the Empire, since the men who represent the State lack the qualities which inspire awe or reverence. A State must be able to appeal to something higher than itself in order to establish its claim to supreme authority in moral

matters.

(2) *State Absolutism as a moral basis is too narrow to suit the present Age.*—Japan's foreign relations are extending. In her relations with other Powers and with alien peoples she needs something to appeal to beyond her own authority.

(3) *State absolutism as it exists in Japan to-day is certainly opposed in principle to Constitutional Government.*—One of the reasons why our new form of government works so badly is because it is opposed in principle to the State absolutism which has been made to take the place of the old theocratic absolutism. That in this country people's minds should be bewildered in respect to the ultimate basis of authority is unquestionable. When it was steadfastly believed that Emperors were God's vicegerents they were willingly obeyed, but men are asking to day whence the State derives its authority, and the answers they receive are by no means calculated to silence doubt or allay anxiety.

THE TRIUMPH OF DESPOTISM IN A CONSTITUTIONALLY GOVERNED COUNTRY.

The above is the title of a long editorial which appeared in the October number of the *Taiyō* in 1906. The article covered fourteen closely printed pages and constituted a very lucid exposition of the political situation in modern Japan.* Prevailing absolutism is treated under five headings:—(1) The despotism of the Katsura Cabinet; (2) the despotism of the Diet; (3) the despotism of political parties; (4) the decline or devolution of the Constitution; (5) increase in the power of the Government. I only purpose quoting a few passages under each heading.

(1) *The Despotism of the Katsura Cabinet.*—There is a section of the Yamagata politicians which holds that the Government is all-sufficient in itself without the Diet, but that in order to make it appear as though the Cabinet were governing constitutionally, the Diet should be used as an instrument for carry-

* The writer of the political articles entitled *Jiji Hyōron* which have been appearing monthly in the *Taiyō* for some years past has been Mr. Asada Kōson. So that this one is no doubt from his pen. He promises to be a worthy successor of the much lamented Toyabe Shuntai.

ing out Government measures. Marquis Katsura is of this opinion. His assertion that he is a man "of action rather than words" is to be interpreted to mean that he refuses to enter into any discussion with the public or to consult them in reference to the measures arbitrarily determined on by himself. He not only keeps aloof from all political parties, but regards himself as under no obligation to bow to public opinion (*Shikōshite karera no chōzen shugi, seitō seiiji ni chōzen taru no i ni arazu shite, kōgi, yoron ni chōzen tari; sedō, jinshin ni chōzen taru no i nariki. Sono fugen jikkō wa, rinki no seisaku ni arazu shite, tami wo shite yorashimubeku, shirashimubekarazu to suru seneci, budan shugi no kokuhaku nariki*).^{*} Let any one who is well acquainted with the course of political events in this country look back over the history of our administration during the past twenty-five years. He will find that Yamagata and Katsura have always acted in one way, and that has been a despotic way. Neither of them has ever shown the slightest inclination to increase the power of the people or to further popular government in any one particular. This is the plain unvarnished truth which nobody can deny.

(2) *Despotism of the Diet*.—In our Diet in recent years power has been passing into the hands of Committees and especially of Chairmen of Committees at an alarming rate. The power wielded by the Chairman of the Budget Committee is so enormous that the fate of the Diet often depends solely on his individual action. What is decided by Committees is decided by the whole Diet. The Diet as a separate organization of Committees exists only in form (*Kono baai ni oite iinkai wa honkaigi nari. Gijō wa tada keishiki no giketsu kikwan taru ni sugizaru nomi. Hommatsu mattaku tendō su* [the whole thing has been turned upside down]). Now one very important difference between

* "The superiority he assumes is not to be understood as superiority to government by political parties, but as superiority to public opinion, as superiority to the ways of the world and the minds of men. His 'action but no words' policy is not a mere temporary expedient, but is to be regarded as a confession of his adhesion to that despotic military method of ruling which aims at making people obey while keeping them in ignorance." *Yorashimubeku, shirashimubekarazu* is a Confucian saying much used as an embodiment of Chinese and Japanese despotism.

the debates that go on in Committee rooms and those carried on in the Diet is that the latter only are public. According to the rules of the Diet even members of the House can be refused admittance to the Committee rooms when discussions are taking place. Newspaper reporters are occasionally admitted, but this is only done when very ordinary topics are under consideration. Thus it will be seen that one of the principal objects that constitutional government sets before it, the provision for the public discussion of public affairs, is frustrated by the manner in which business is carried on in our Diet. Our Diet is actually governed by three persons in each House, the President of the whole House, the Chairman of the Budget Committee and the leader of the political party that has a majority in the House.

(3) *The Despotism of Political Parties.*—Our political parties have discovered that only on one condition can they avoid disintegration—they must bow to the will of the President in all things. The Presidents of parties are bound to rule despotically and the members of parties feel themselves to be under a solemn obligation to obey their leaders. When Prince Itō founded the Seiyūkai he made it quite plain that he did not intend to share power with anybody. He alone drafted the rules of association for the Party. He appointed and dismissed officers at will. He never concealed the fact that he was opposed to what is known as *gōgisei*, government by a council. His despotism was most pronounced. When the Party came into conflict with Marquis Katsura, Prince Itō, without consulting the Party, gave in to the Marquis, caring not a straw what offence this might cause among his followers. Marquis Saionji has always governed the Party in the same despotic manner, disregarding altogether applications for high Government posts. In no single particular has the Party ever been able to control its President or to modify a policy which he had decided to adopt. In the most prosperous days of the Shimpotō, Count Ōkuma ruled it despotically. When the Party tried to limit the Count's power, he resigned the Presidency (January, 1907).^{*} Since that time the Party has been

^{*} A striking article on this subject by Toyabe Shuntai will be found in my "Specimens of Translation," Book III, p. 42 et seq.

split up into factions and has fared badly. Mr. Inukai Ki, the most powerful member of the Party, is known to be in favour of despotic rule. The despotism with which parties are ruled seems to possess attractions for many minds.

(4) *The Devolution* of the Constitution*.—An eminent German jurist Herr Jellineck, in a work entitled *Revision of and Changes in the Constitution*, demonstrates very clearly that though the wording of a constitution may not be altered, it may be interpreted and applied in an exactly opposite way to that intended by its original framers. Governments, Law Courts, public necessity, Diets or Parliaments, new habits, separately or combinedly, may and constantly do effect this. Herr Jellineck gives numerous examples of cases of this kind in Germany. Jellineck contends that there are three reasons for the existing loss of confidence in representative assemblies. (a) These assemblies do not actually represent public opinion. The decisions come to by them only represent the opinions of the majority of the members. To render Diets and Parliaments actually representative is an impossibility. (b) The power wielded by the political party that has a majority in the Diet is such that it can afford to disregard altogether the interests of the nation at large and consult its own interests; and this it habitually does. (c) A Diet is ill suited for the discharge of all the business and legislative functions expected of it. It superintends legislation and public expenditure only in a very imperfect manner. In complicated questions, when expert knowledge is indispensable for their elucidation and settlement, Diets are very useless. (The truth of this remark has been repeatedly shown by the action, or should I say, inaction, of the Japanese Diet when somewhat technical subjects have been under discussion).

In regard to the interpretations often put on constitutions that are opposed to their spirit and original meaning, we have a remarkable instance of such procedure in this country, observes Mr. Asada. When Article XV, of the Constitution says :

* The term 進化, *taikwa*, used here by Mr. Asada, is antithetical to *shinkwa*, evolution. It is a newly invented compound.

"The respective Ministers of State shall give their advice to the Emperor and be responsible for it," it is quite plain that it is to the Diet as representative of the nation that these Ministers are to be responsible; for, as regards their responsibility to the Sovereign, that in the very nature of things has always existed, apart altogether from the Constitution. Yet Ministers have invariably acted towards the Diet in a manner that shows most plainly that they acknowledge no responsibility towards it. Votes of want of confidence in this country are practically useless, as they are habitually ignored by Ministers of State. No Minister has ever publicly acknowledged that he is responsible to the Diet in any way whatever. Neither has our Diet ever insisted on its rights in this respect. So we find ourselves to-day with a Constitution on paper that is never carried into practice. The Constitution that was intended to be a safeguard against despotism has entirely failed to fulfil this function. Our old feudal ways are still followed. The Constitution which political evolution gave us (was it real political evolution that gave it?) is speedily undergoing a process of devolution. Its strength is rapidly on the decline. In the very place where a stand for liberty is made in every country, if it is made at all, in our very House of Representatives, despotism is allowed to have full sway.

(5) *The Growth of the Power of the Government.*—From the general increase of despotism throughout our political world the Government obtains the most benefit. Think of all the attacks that have been made on the Government in its corporate capacity or on individual Ministers of State since the opening of the Diet. What have they effected? Absolutely nothing worthy of note. The Government has always shown itself to be capable of keeping the Diet under its finger and thumb. Opposition has been again and again suppressed by appeals to the pockets of members in some form or other. Parties that have commanded a majority in the Lower House have repeatedly been used as Government tools. And this will go on still. There are no signs of change. The power of the Government has never been greater than it is to-day. People talk about the power of public opinion as represented by the Press. What

notice has our Government taken of the expression of public opinion during the past ten years? It nationalized the railways, despite what was written against it. Public opinion agitated for a rise in the Tōkyō tram fares. The rise has not yet been sanctioned. In the Hibiya demonstration affair no notice was taken of public opinion. The Exhibition was postponed against the wishes of the nation, and so we might go on.

But in the usurpation of the power that has been granted to representative assemblies by Cabinets, our Government does not stand alone. The same thing is to be seen to a greater or less extent throughout the whole world in every country that possesses a Constitution. The devices used by Governments for wresting the power from those to whom it has been legally given are multiple and often glaringly unscrupulous. The whole political world seems to be drifting back to despotism in one form or another. By appeals to men's private interests, Governments succeed in overcoming all formidable opposition and in reducing what were intended to be bulwarks of liberty and correctors of abuses into instruments for enforcing their own arbitrary decisions.*

CHAPTER XII.

RELIGION AND ETHICS.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE JAPANESE MIND TO RELIGION.

The study of the science of religion has made it quite clear that in all countries there is a close connection between national character and national religion. Whenever a foreign religion is adopted generally, it is so moulded by the minds that receive it as to make it appear after a few centuries like a new religion. How has the natural bent of the Japanese mind affected the national attitude towards the foreign creeds which have been

* As regards the control of Primary and Middle Schools, during the past two years the discipline has become much stricter than heretofore, and many Japanese teachers seem to be of opinion that for such schools the establishment of despotic rule is the only safe course to follow. It is perhaps true to say that as a nation the Japanese take to despotism kindly.

taught in this country? Is the religious sense strong or weak among the Japanese? Sir Ernest Satow, after a most exhaustive study of ancient Japanese literature, many years ago asserted "that the religious sense is far less forcible here than it is in most countries. It is quite common to hear thoughtful Japanese say in a tone that seems to indicate that the speaker thinks he is uttering a truism:—'The Japanese do not care for religion; the religious instinct seems to have become extinct in the minds of our countrymen, that is, if it ever existed!'" This opinion has been in the main endorsed by Messrs. Chamberlain and Aston, among foreign scholars, and by a very large number of Japanese authorities.

There has of course been a great deal of discussion in Europe and America as to what religion is, and as many definitions have been given of ■ as of the soul and the Supreme Being. I might take any one of the numerous popular definitions of religion and succeed in showing that the Japanese are certainly a religious people. I might with the author of *Natural Religion* (Seeley) take it to be a "feeling of wonder;" or with Matthew Arnold to be "morality touched with emotion;" or with Schelling to be "intuition;" or with Hegel to be "thought;" and without much difficulty show that the religious sense of the Japanese is by no means at so low an ebb as some critics have represented it to be. These definitions doubtless describe certain aspects and characteristics of what we call religion, but they are inadequate, in that they leave out of account some of the most essential elements of what is popularly known among us as religious belief and worship. In ordinary everyday speech those people are considered to be religious who pay great attention to the worship of supernatural beings, who regularly attend what are called religious services, who believe in the efficacy of prayer, who therefore conceive of the Deity as a Being who is in the habit of interfering in some way or other and at some time or other with natural laws and the course of human affairs, whether that interference be confined to what is called "His providential dealings," or be extended to what is designated "miraculous agency," and who in addition to this believe in a future life. At

this stage of the discussion I am purposely leaving out of consideration the moral element in religion, namely, the element which has reference to man's duty to his fellow-man, and am confining myself to the inquiry: What is the attitude of the Japanese mind to the other element, which has to do with public or private acts of worship, to steadfast belief in Divine Beings and influences, to that expectation of the rewards and punishments of a future life which lie at the root of all sincere worship? Let us take the three Japanese creeds in order as they have been taught and understood by the Japanese, and ask ourselves how far they have promoted what we call religious feeling and religious belief? I will begin with Shintōism.

To show what amount of religion there was in ancient Shintōism I will quote a sentence from Mr. Chamberlain's introduction to the *Kojiki*:—"The first thing that strikes the student is that what, for want of a more appropriate name, we must call the religion of the early Japanese was not an organised religion; we can discover in it nothing corresponding to the body of dogmas, the code of morals and the sacred book authoritatively enforcing both, with which we are familiar in civilised religions, such as Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam." As to the objects of worship known as *Kami*, I cannot do better than allow the great Shintō theologian Motoori to define it. Here is Mr. Aston's translation of what Motoori wrote on this subject in the latter part of the eighteenth century: "The term *Kami* is applied in the first place to the various deities of Heaven and Earth who are mentioned in the ancient records as well as to their spirits (*mitama*), which reside in the shrines where they are worshipped. Moreover, not only human beings, but birds, beasts, plants and trees, seas and mountains, and all other things whatsoever which deserve to be dreaded and revered for the extraordinary and pre-eminent powers which they possess, are called *Kami*. They need not be eminent for surpassing nobleness, goodness, or serviceableness alone. Malignant and uncanny beings are also called *Kami*, if only they are objects of general dread. . . . There have been numerous examples of divine human beings both in ancient and modern times, who, though not accepted by the nation

generally, are treated as gods, each of his several dignity, in a single province, village or family. Among *Kami* who are not human beings, I need hardly mention thunder (in Japanese *Naru Kami*, or the Sounding God). There are also the Dragon, the Echo (called in Japanese *Ko-dama*, or the Tree Spirit) and the Fox, who are *kami* by reason of their uncanny and fearful natures. The term *kami* is applied in the *Nihongi* and *Manyōshū* to the tiger and the wolf. Izanagi gave to the fruit of the peach and to the jewels round his neck names which implied that they were *kami*. There are many cases of seas and mountains being called *kami*. It is not their spirits which are meant. The word was applied directly to the seas or mountains themselves as being very awful things." Mr. Chamberlain observes :—" The general habit of the more sceptical Japanese of the present day,—i.e., ninety-nine out of every hundred of the educated—seems to be to reject, or at least to ignore the history of the gods."

Now let us turn to the subject of rites and ceremonies, prayer and belief in a future life. Food was offered in ancient times to the gods and the dead, but the performance of such rites betrayed no sign of being impelled by religious feeling. Even the rite of burial had none of the solemnity which characterises our funeral ceremonies. We find from the *Kojiki* that on such occasions a big carousal took place, and those who took part in the riotous feasts ate portions of the food that had been offered to the gods or the spirits of the dead. With one exception the *Kojiki* contains no written prayers, though records of conversations with the gods are met with again and again. No devotional utterances, such as with a people in whom the religious sense is strong would certainly be encountered, are to be found in these ancient religious records. Hymns were not in use. And of the 111 songs preserved in the records not one has any religious reference, Mr. Chamberlain informs us. As regards belief in a future life of reward and punishment, the translator of the *Kojiki* says :—" The state of the dead in general is nowhere alluded to, nor are the dying ever made to refer to a future world whether good or evil." When Izanagi followed his wife Izanami to the land of

the dead, he found there not a spirit, but a putrefying corpse. The gods of ancient Shintō are as unspiritual as the gods of Olympus. Their doings are modelled on those of living men and women, not on those of ghosts. Ghosts are as absent from the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* as they are from the Old Testament. Aston informs us that the doctrine of the immortality of the soul is nowhere directly taught in Shintō books. To the land of *yomi* some of the gods retired at death, but it is not inhabited by the spirits of human beings. It is quite plain that the history of early Shintōism does nothing but emphasise the fact that genuine religious feeling as we understand it did not exist in Japan up to the arrival of Buddhism in the sixth century of our era.

After a careful consideration of the whole subject, I have reached the conclusion that, notwithstanding the fact that Buddhism conferred numerous benefits on the Japanese people, it failed entirely to alter the attitude of the minds of educated men towards the worship of gods or divinities and doctrines concerning a future life. Now, when we come to review the history of Buddhist influence on the educated classes, we perceive that at one time Buddhism engaged the serious attention of a large number of learned men. When it was first promulgated here it possessed numerous features that were of themselves of sufficient importance to attract attention. It brought over to this country a magnificent literature—a literature full of philosophic thought, presented to the human mind in a most fascinating manner, a literature that embodied the fruits of centuries of Hindu speculation. It erected temples which in gorgeoussness and architectural beauty surpassed all that the Japanese of those days had ever set eyes on. Its priests manifested a spirit of activity, benevolence, and self-denial which could not but carry weight with a people to whom the zeal of religious devotees was altogether new. That for a while Buddhism succeeded in gaining the ear of the learned need create no surprise. The Buddhist priests of those days, like the Roman Catholic priests of the Middle Ages, were far in advance of the laity in point of education. The monasteries of Japan, like the monasteries of Europe, were the only seats of learning the country possessed. Proficiency in

Buddhism was synonymous with proficiency in the Chinese language, the key which opened numerous storehouses of knowledge. Many other motives doubtless actuated the hundreds of laymen who devoted themselves to the study of Buddhist lore. Discerning men perceived that their ancient tongue was sadly deficient in metaphysical, philosophic, and religious terminology and recognised that Buddhist literature contained abundant material for supplying this want. The enormous number of Buddhist terms which now enrich the language constitutes one of the many benefits which the zealous students of those days conferred on posterity.

But the question is, how far did the scholars of the age of which I am speaking actually accept as true the Buddhist miraculous stories, the doctrine of transmigration and Buddhist teaching concerning heaven and hell? The popularity of the purely religious elements of Buddhism among lay-scholars is something that has never been proved and which, if I am not mistaken, there would be great difficulty in proving. But even if it be granted, that, owing to the numerous attractive accompaniments which Buddhism possessed when it was first presented to the minds of the ancient Japanese, its teaching on supernatural questions was quietly accepted as part of a system which had so many merits, it is beyond all doubt that such teaching made no lasting impression on the minds of educated men. After a few generations had passed away, the ancient spirit reasserted itself and religion, as distinguished from morality, philosophy, and art, was quietly ignored. Gradually the religious belief of devout Buddhists became the object of open or concealed ridicule among the learned. The asceticism of the whole system, its gloomy and depressing theory of life, began to repel the minds of a people, who, like the ancient Greeks, have always been noted for their cheerfulness. Its *jigoku*, divided up into separate compartments, and its *nirvana*, in which men neither live nor die but exist on and on without possessing anything to make life desirable, were made subjects of joke, and in the minds of educated men occupied the same place as our European ghost stories. Scores of such expressions as *Jigoku no*

sato mo kane shidai (Even Hell's decisions depend on money) were in common use, showing how the religious doctrines of Buddhism were supposed to be the inventions of the priests and hence were classed among the *hoben* or pious devices for influencing the unlearned.

Now if we turn to the treatment that Confucianism has met with in this country, we find that its influence and popularity have had no break from the days in which the characters found in the *Daigaku*, the *Chūyō*, and the *Rengo* were first puzzled out by the scholars of the sixth and seventh centuries down to the present age. The whole Confucian system of thought seemed to suit the requirements, tastes, and inclinations of the *Yamato-damashii* to a remarkable degree. There are no doubt other reasons for the great popularity enjoyed by Confucianism as a moral philosophy, but if Japanese writers on this subject are to be trusted, its comparative freedom from reference to supernatural beings and the subordinate place which religion as distinguished from morality holds in this system is one great cause. I am aware that in the Confucian writings there are a few passages in which the worship of gods or of the spirits of ancestors is enjoined, and it is true to say that occasionally Confucius appears to attribute personality to his 天, *Ten*, but the whole subject of religion is so kept in the background, is treated when mentioned at all in such an indefinite way, that to construct a theory of religion with the data furnished would be quite impossible. It is correct to say that whatever allusions to the subject of religion there are in the sayings of Confucius and Mencius, the influence of these passages in moulding the minds of Japanese in any given direction has been absolutely nil.

How long the influence of Confucianism as a whole will last it is difficult to say. During the past five or six years new interest in the system has been awakened by leading scholars and special meetings for discussing the doctrines of the great Sage are now being held all over the country twice a year. But among the younger generation of scholars there is a feeling that, owing to its feudal setting and other causes, as a system of morals

Confucianism is out of harmony with the spirit of Western civilisation and hence is doomed sooner or later to pass into oblivion.

I think I have said enough to show that history abundantly confirms the opinion held by a very large number of native and foreign scholars in reference to the weakness of the religious sense of the Japanese when compared with that of other nations. To these critics it seems that, like the Chinese, the Japanese are not only without any natural taste for the subtleties of abstract metaphysical thought, but are naturally averse to religious mysticism, to regions of thought where reason has to lie dormant or accept on authority what there exists no means of testing. With the exception of one or two noted men who are supposed to have had access to Hindu sources, the Chinese philosophers were only following the bent of their own minds when they discussed ideas as they found them in the concrete and not as conceived of in the abstract. They took the same course in respect to religion. Their religions are working religions, which they *use* rather than *believe in*, which have no existence apart from the interests and business of everyday life. The Japanese have faithfully adhered to this policy in all religious matters. The idea of a rite or a ceremony having some special merit of its own, whether considered as an act of homage to a God, or as part of a prescribed religion whose system is founded on some kind of supernatural revelation, is foreign to their minds. To be moral, honest, and upright, to be guided by reason and not by passion, to be faithful to your employers, benefactors, and friends under all circumstances, to abstain from all kinds of meanness and selfishness—this is the great aim of the refined scholar and gentleman of modern Japan, and further than that he is not prepared to go. He does not consider that he needs a priest or a Christian minister to tell him how to carry out this ideal. He reads and has common-sense and a knowledge of men and things, and these will suffice him. About a future life and its rewards and punishments, about the existence of a personal God who is alleged to guide the affairs of the world and to have originally been its Creator, he knows nothing, he says, and he is inclined to believe those who tell him that nothing certain can be

known. Such has been and such is the attitude of the educated Japanese to religion in general, and it being so, I now proceed to consider whether Christianity, as it is propagated in this country, is likely to radically change this *national* disposition of the Japanese mind.

CHRISTIANITY AS IT APPEARS TO JAPANESE SCHOLARS.

In order to bring out clearly what is the attitude of the majority of Japanese scholars to the Christianity that is taught by missionaries in this country, I will imagine that a missionary and a Japanese scholar are engaged in a controversy on the interesting question, what will be the future of Christianity among the educated classes in this country? The missionary would probably state his views somewhat as follows :—

(1) There is no doubt a great deal of truth in what people say about the lack of appreciation of the supernatural element in religion on the part of the Japanese. But we are strong believers in the power of education, and we do not see why the Japanese should not be educated to appreciate what many belonging to other nationalities have so highly esteemed.

(2) May not your disinclination to believe in the supernatural have been caused by the silliness of the Shintō and Buddhist stories that claim to relate supernatural occurrences? If this drawback were removed, would you not think differently on the subject?

(3) Have not Western science and philosophy done much towards bridging over the gulf that separates the natural from the supernatural? Apart from any special religious theory, do they not show that the most rational explanation of the thousand adaptations that exist in the universe is to say that they are the result of the presence and the working of an adapting mind? If this be granted, much else must inevitably follow.

(4) Will not the enormous prestige with which Christianity comes to this country gradually remove any natural repugnance to supernaturalism which may be felt by educated men like yourself? Christianity comes here as the religion of the most civilised

nations of the world—a religion which has won the confidence and esteem of most of the great thinkers of Europe and America during the past hundred years, and which, despite the severe criticism to which it has been subjected still holds its ground in the minds of a very large number of the foremost scholars of the day.

(5) If we can prove that some of the essential elements of that form of civilisation which you as a nation desire to adopt are distinctly Christian in their origin and character, can you avoid embodying them in your reformed polity? And would not any refusal on your part to do so be likely to give grave offence to those whose friendship and esteem you are desirous of winning?

(6) You maintain that so long as men are moral, it matters little whether they are religious or not. But is not morality divorced from religion a very weak thing? Is there any instance of a moral system severed from religion ever accomplishing much in the way of reform and moral restraint?

To the above arguments the Japanese scholar would be likely to make the following replies:—

(1) You propose to educate the Japanese to a belief in supernaturalism. The difficulties in your way are enormous. There are first hereditary obstacles to be overcome. Instincts which it has taken generations to form are not easily lost; but, on the other hand, where the influences of hundreds of years have all tended to eradicate or deface an instinct, the difficulty of arousing the dormant capacity and bringing it into working order is stupendous. This we take to be the case with the religious instincts of the Japanese. Another difficulty in the way of educating people to accept supernatural Christianity arises from the fact that those whom you are desirous of teaching, and their guides and advisers, do not see the need of the education you propose to give them, in fact, are fully persuaded that there is no necessity for it. And they are in the habit too of quoting from your Western writers in support of this their persuasion. They draw attention to the fact that some of the most stainless amiable, and noble moral lives are being lived by men and wo-

men who have unequivocally rejected Christian supernaturalism.

(2) In reply to your second argument, with all due deference to your profession, and with proper respect for your sincere religious convictions, I am bound to say that many of the stories of your Bible appear to us as childish, superstitious and incredible as our Shintō and Buddhist stories do to you. To ask us, as some of your profession are apt to do, to bear in mind that these Bible stories form a part of a Divine Revelation and therefore are to be regarded with respect, is, I maintain, a begging of the whole question at issue between us. It first assumes that there is such a thing as a Divine Revelation, and then decides that your Scriptures and not ours contain that Revelation.

(3) In reply to your third argument I would say that in order to explain the adaptations in nature, to postulate the existence of an omnipotent, omniscient, and perfectly just personal Creator and ruler of the Universe such as you Christians believe in, appears to me to be no solution of the problem of the origin of the World. The conception of the existence of such a Being is beset with endless difficulties to logical minds.

(4) You say that Christianity is likely to prevail owing to the prestige with which it comes to this country. Now, with a certain class of our people this consideration may have weight, but the majority of our scholars know that you Occidentals are Christians because you were born so, and that if you had been born in China, you would have been Buddhists, Confucianists or Taoists, or perhaps, like many Chinese, a combination of the three. Most of you receive your religion from those who have authority to teach in a submissive and unquestioning manner. There is not one in ten thousand among you who has looked into the evidences of supernatural religion or who knows anything of the difficulties connected with belief in the Bible as a book that contains an infallible Revelation. We do not doubt for a moment that there have been and that there still are many sincere Christians in your midst, as there are still sincere Buddhists in Japan, but what we do affirm is that the majority of your thoughtful men receive their religion on trust: they do not care to disturb the quietness of their lives by sifting the evidence on which

their faith is said to rest, and therefore when you say that Christianity comes here with all the prestige of the most civilised nations, the reply I make is, that this circumstance, for the reasons now given, adds nothing to the claim which your creed has on us and is in itself altogether insufficient to prove its superiority to all other creeds. We are unable to forget the fact that Christianity became the religion of Europe when the latter was in a semi-barbarous state, and that it has with various modifications continued to be the religion of Europe ever since. You say that Christianity is the religion of the civilised nations of the world. We ask what Christianity? If you reply that you include in the term Christianity all the three forms it has assumed, then we are bound to say that it seems to us that two out of the three forms of the Christian religion are, so far as they are strictly adhered to and allowed to guide and control men's thoughts and actions, a positive hindrance to that freedom of spirit and love of progress which you foreigners tell us are the glory of your civilisation. We venture to think that your Spanish Roman Catholic Christian for instance, is far behind most of our Buddhist converts in enlightenment and general knowledge; and we have little doubt that the mental condition of some of our uneducated Buddhists would compare favourably with the mental state of numbers of baptized Christians belonging to the Eastern Church. If to these remarks you reply, "I agree with you that the forms of Christianity you have mentioned have done more to retard than to advance that spirit of liberty which we so much value, but Protestantism has had quite an opposite effect," I answer that to us when men's creeds are all settled for them, when all inquiry that does not end in submission to what is called orthodox opinion is branded as heresy, when the most startling dogmas are declared to be indubitably true because a number of ancient Christian writers have pronounced them to be so, it matters little whether men are Protestants or Roman Catholics, they are the slaves of tradition and are debarred from carrying on independent investigation in the world of religion as scholars are doing in the world of science and philosophy, by the decisions of great councils and Church fathers and by the despotism of

modern orthodox opinion. The voice of the Church is perpetually checking them with its "Thus far shalt thou go and no farther". The majority of your Protestant Christians accept the creeds of their Churches with as implicit a confidence as the Roman Catholic or the Greek Church Christian accepts his. When this is not the case, then the investigations men carry on lead them to conclusions which are altogether at variance with received opinions on religious subjects; hence the plentiful crop of "isms" which contradict each other begotten by such free inquiry as your more liberal-minded sects have allowed.

(5) Whether the essential elements of your civilisation are distinctively Christian or not is, as you know, a question that has by no means been settled, but granting that they are, it is quite possible for us to embody these elements in our reformed constitution without binding ourselves to accept all that is included in the term Christianity. May we not act as eclectics in this matter, choosing that which seems to us to be in accordance with the spirit of the age and the tastes and feelings of our people, and leaving the rest? In adopting this course we should be giving no offence to those foreigners whose esteem is most worth winning; for would not such men honour us for acting up to our convictions in this matter instead of following in the train of those countries which have accepted Christianity from policy rather than from conviction? If we are not mistaken, the spirit of the age is against people's taking offence because their own special religious creed is not adopted by their friends and associates. We constantly find that men of the most diverse opinions on religion in this and other countries are very warm friends. We do not anticipate that, provided our dealings with foreigners in political and commercial affairs are characterised by justice and fair play, they will make our religious convictions, or our want of them, a source of estrangement or a hindrance to cordiality of intercourse.

(6) In reply to your last argument I would say that certainly on the whole you have history on your side when you assert that somehow or other morality divorced from religion does not fare well. The influence of Confucianism in our coun-

try, however, is one exception to the rule, and it would not be difficult to quote numerous instances where the moral teaching of religious people in Christian countries has exercised a wide influence over both men and women who have rejected the accompanying doctrines bearing on supernatural questions. Morality divorced from religion in this twentieth century is a much stronger and much nobler thing than it has ever been before. There are so many inducements and incentives to morality nowadays which science and philosophy have rendered prominent that the class of men who are moral on other than religious grounds is largely increasing, and among ourselves those who have studied heredity and physiology and who are acquainted with the fruits both mental and physical which in all nations a high tone of morality never fail to bear need no religious inducement to morality.

In the above sketch I have only reproduced arguments which have been repeatedly advanced by scholars in this country against the acceptance of Christianity, and I have no hesitation in saying that the sentiments given above are entertained by the majority of those educated Japanese who have given any serious attention to the subject of religion. It is only by recognising that the normal attitude of the Japanese mind to religion in general is just what I have represented it to be that we can rightly interpret the opinion of so many leading men in this country on Christian propagandism — opinion that has constantly changed and that has greatly puzzled onlookers. Dr. Katō Hiroyuki at one time advocated the teaching of Christianity along with Buddhism and other creeds in the schools, in the hope that the fittest would survive. He subsequently changed his mind and developed great hostility to the Christian creed. Dr. Inoue Tetsujirō at first strongly opposed the teaching of Christianity in schools and elsewhere, but in recent years he has modified his views and has admitted that the doctrines preached by Christians are harmless and possibly in some respects beneficial. The late Dr. Toyama, a very powerful personality, at first favoured the spread of Christianity as a refining influence, but shortly before his death, in a speech which attracted great

attention at the time, advised his fellow-countrymen to keep to philosophy and scientific morality and have nothing to do with supernatural Christianity. Mr. Fukuzawa at one time advocated the profession of Christianity as a means of winning the goodwill of foreigners. He said that real belief in it was not necessary. All this is open to the charge of flippancy. It is easily explained, however, when we bear in mind how extremely indifferent is the ordinary Japanese mind to any and every kind of religion. When prominent Japanese have recommended their fellow-countrymen to join the Christian Church it has almost invariably been done with a view of securing the social and other benefits of a non-religious kind to be derived from association with Christians and not because any special importance has been attached to Christian teaching.

In support of the statements made above I could quote from scores of essays on religion which have come under my observation in the course of the past thirty years, but I have only space here for two short extracts. In each case the words used by the writer have been literally translated. The first is from the *Koe*, a Roman Catholic organ, and there is every reason for thinking that the writer was a Christian.

"Is it true that we Japanese are richly endowed with religious sentiment? I regret to have to reply that I hesitate to say we are so endowed.

"It may be the result of our geographical surroundings and peculiarities, or of centuries of history, but it would seem that we have always been a worldly-minded nation whose chief interest is in the present life, and to that future life to which religion attaches so much importance we pay little regard.

"Take note of this! When our people pray to gods or divinities, most of them do so in order to obtain benefits and happiness in this world; and as for those who seek happiness in the next world, are they not as few as the stars that peep out from behind the clouds on a pitch dark rainy night?

"Among the majority of Japanese, religious feeling only displays itself as long as life is an object of desire. No sooner does a man approach death than his lips cease to utter prayers

to divinities and his heart no longer craves for Divine assistance, and it is his ambition to die bravely without regret with a smile on his face. This way of meeting death may be said to be part of our national ideal. So that even in the case of women and children to be calling on gods and divinities for help in the hour of death is habitually considered to be a sign of weakness of mind and cowardice—as something of which to be ashamed.”

The second article from which I make a brief citation appeared in the *Michi* in January, 1910. It is by no less an authority than Count Hayashi Tadasu. “The long and short of it is that the necessity for receiving help from religion has never been felt in China; she is quite satisfied with the teaching of Confucius and Mencius. This sentiment came over to this country as a part of Chinese thought; and so in Japan too religion has never wielded the power it has done in many other countries. It is true that when Chinese literature was first introduced here and also in the age when civil war prevailed everywhere, as a consequence of the fact that laymen had no time for study, learning was monopolized by Buddhist priests, and they by combining Confucianism with their religious doctrines exercised a certain amount of influence over society for a time. But with the advance of learning came the severance of ethics, that is, of Confucianism, from religion. And no sooner did this take place than religion lost all its influence on society. If my way of regarding this matter on further investigation prove to be correct, then no matter what the sect may be, religion will never succeed in influencing Japan hereafter as it influences other countries, and society will be instructed in indispensable ethical doctrines only or will be enlightened in other ways.”*

THE EXTRAORDINARY ADVICE OF THREE NOTED SCHOLARS.

I have already referred casually to the attitude assumed towards Christianity by Messrs. Katō, Toyama, and Fukuzawa in the eighties. The movement they and others set on foot aim-

* The original of both the articles quoted from will be found in Books II. and III. of my *Specimens of Translation*.

ed at giving an impetus to the spread of Christianity by laying stress on the secondary benefits that its acceptance insures. "Granted," said these counsellors, "that the Christian dogmas are a bitter pill to swallow, let the pill be swallowed without chewing, for the sake of its after-effects." In giving this advice, Mr. Fukuzawa was careful to let it be known that he himself took no interest in religion whatever, that in his opinion it was of very little importance what religion a man adopted, and that he knew nothing of the teaching of Christianity. But at the same time, in view of the fact that Christianity is the creed of the West, and hence the creed of the most civilised nations, and in consideration of the importance of rendering the intercourse between Japanese and foreigners as intimate as possible, he recommended that a certain number of his countrymen should apply for admittance into the Christian Church. They need not, he affirmed, regard such a step as a grave one. Religion is very much like a garment (to a typical Japanese like Mr. Fukuzawa) to be put on or taken off as expediency dictates. While remarking that the philosopher secretly laughs at all religions, Mr. Fukuzawa said that no one creed should be singled out as a butt for ridicule, and hence that attacks on Christianity are very impolitic.

A few years later (in 1887) Professor Toyama came forward as an advocate of the same view. In a work entitled *Social Reform and Christianity* he maintained that Chinese ethics must be replaced by foreign ethics, and that in order to effect this, Christianity must be introduced; and that the chief benefits to be derived from the introduction of Christianity would be (1) the improvement of music; (2) a union of sentiment and feeling, leading to harmonious co-operation; and (3) the creation of a medium of intercourse between men and women. In several other essays published subsequently the Professor expressed the same views with slight variations in his mode of stating them.

In a lecture delivered to the Japanese Education Society entitled *Toku-iku ni tsuite no ichi an*, or *An Opinion on Moral Education*, published in No. 88 of the Society's journal, Dr. Katō recommended the teaching of religion in Government schools.

He complained that while learned men have their own special views on ethics, the unlearned, who constitute the chief part of the nation, have no moral standard whatever—their faith in the old standard having been shaken and nothing new having taken its place. In this respect the position of Japan is unique, says Dr. Katō. In other countries men appeal to their religion for the determination of what is right and wrong in action, but here there is no final court of appeal. The result of this state of things is a serious lack of moral sentiment among the masses. It is impossible to produce moral sentiments by simply stating the arguments of the learned. These arguments are unintelligible to the uneducated. Moral sentiment in the case of ignorant people must be made to rest on some simple feeling, such as fear, gratitude, wonder, and the like, and to produce this feelings we must have a religion, with its God or Divinity, its rewards and punishments. "If asked what are my own views on religion," says Dr. Katō, "I reply that I dislike all religions equally and resort to philosophy. Religion is not needed for educated people. But the majority of people are not educated. It is for these that religion is designed. According to Schopenhauer, 'Religion is like the light of the fire-fly, it can only be seen in a very dark place.' A thing which is disliked when considered from a learned point of view often has to be employed as a means to effect a certain end. Such is religion (*Gakumon-jō kara mite, kirai-na shūkyō demo, dōgu ni seneba nananu*). Auguste Comte maintains that men must pass through the theological stage to the metaphysical and from thence to the stage of experimental philosophy or positivism. The majority of mankind cannot afford to skip the theological stage. When asked what religion I recommend, I say let Shintōism, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Christianity all be introduced into the schools; let instruction on religious subjects be imparted by the authorised teachers of these various creeds; let the pupils be allowed to discuss freely together the claims of the different sects and let a careful statistical record be kept of the moral effects of the different creeds, and the final result will be that the fittest will survive."

Dr. Katō had for many years figured conspicuously in

leading journals and on the platform as an earnest advocate of the doctrine of natural selection. Auxious to give full swing to the law of evolution in every quarter of the universe, he sought to prepare a small world in the elementary and middle schools of Japan where the results of the commingling of diverse creeds might be scientifically tested, and he was sanguine enough to think that from this chaos of creeds an ethical cosmos might be evolved.

There is much food for reflection in the attitude of these three remarkable men to the Christian creed. The careful way in which they each avoid the discussion of the claims of Christianity to acceptance on doctrinal grounds can only be explained on the theory that with all their scholarship they were ignorant of the real nature of the religious sense as it has been developed in the West. Had Mr. Fukuzawa studied Western religious thought more thoroughly, he would never have propounded the theory which in a series of articles published in the *Jiji Shimpō* in 1883 he took the trouble to elaborate. Briefly stated, the advice he gave his fellow-countrymen was this: In order to curry favour with those persons who profess to believe in a certain religion, and who would be indignant if accused of not believing it, do you pretend to accept it. The rites and ceremonies which these people perform because they think there is some kind of merit attached to them, do you perform out of deference to the said persons, *notwithstanding your conviction that no kind of merit is attached to them*. You should look upon the affair in the same way as you regard shaking hands, dancing waltzes, or going arm-in-arm with foreign ladies—all of which are contrary to your notions of what is correct and some of which seem very silly to you, but which you conform to for the sake of winning foreign esteem.

The absurdity of this theory lies in the fundamental premise on which it rests, namely, that foreigners regard their religion in the same light as an ordinary custom. Mr. Fukuzawa did not know that most Christians would be highly offended by being told that their going to a Christian church instead of to a Buddhist temple is a mere matter of local habit or fashion, and is to be

traced to the same cause as their wearing a foreign coat instead of a Japanese *haori*. It comes to this—that the policy recommended by Mr. Fukuzawa, in that it would if acted on be a violation of the most deeply rooted feelings of the persons whom it was designed to conciliate, would repel rather than attract, would tend to estrangement between the parties concerned rather than to increased cordiality. Friendly feeling is invariably called forth by the manifestation of real sympathy; but *feigned* sympathy, mock, external conformity where the beliefs of the parties concerned are in direct antagonism to each other, is more calculated to excite contempt than to elicit friendship.

My reason for dwelling on this point is the fact that, ridiculous as Mr. Fukuzawa's advice seems to us to be, it was followed by a great many people all over the country, according to the testimony of numerous Christian writers. Young men and young women were baptized by the hundred who were mere shallow professors of the Christian creed, and many of whom brought nothing but reproach on the Christian name in later years.

THE ETHICAL POLICY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION.

It is true to assert that at no time since the beginning of the Meiji era have the Japanese educational authorities ever shown any inclination to base morality on religion, and in this they have shown great wisdom. For religion—I use the term in its ordinary sense as referring to a system of faith and ceremony claiming to be based on some kind of supernatural revelation—has to do with things far-off, mystical, incomprehensible—such as rewards and punishments in a future life, semi-miraculous spiritual influences, the nature, attributes and self-revelations of gods and divinities. Morality or ethics, on the other hand, deals with what is near, lucid, practical, intelligible—such as rewards and punishments in this life, mental and physical; the grand practical reforms to be effected by a thorough application of admitted ethical principles; and our duties as members of families, as members of society and as citizens. To maintain that to induce a man to act rightly in matters which *immediately* concern him,

the best plan is to direct his attention to something that *remotely* concerns him ; that in order to persuade him to act wisely in this world, you must make him fear the punishments and expect the rewards of another, appears to ordinary common sense to be quite illogical. But while the Japanese authorities have refused to allow religion to be taught in schools or made the basis of such ethical instruction as is regularly carried on in all schools, religious teachers have invariably been allowed to deliver addresses in school halls to such students as are inclined to attend. No sect has been debarred from making its doctrines known in this way.

Has the Educational Department ever had a duly authorized system of ethics ? Yes ; in the year 1888 the Compilation Bureau of this Department issued a work entitled "*Ethics : A Class-book for the Use of Middle and Normal Schools.*" This work was compiled under the immediate superintendence of the late Viscount Mori. On his return from England in 1882, Viscount Mori became a "Goyōkakari" in the Department of Education, and in that capacity, owing to his strong personality, wielded more power than the Minister, Count Ōki, or the Vice-Minister, Mr. Tsuji Shinji. Prior to this time Count Ōki, who was of a strongly conservative turn of mind, urged the necessity of reviving the interest of the nation in the Chinese system of morals. This system had fallen into disfavour owing to Occidental influences. As a result of considerable thought and inquiry, Viscount Mori came to the following conclusions. First, that the reinstatement of the former ethical authorities in the schools was, for many reasons, undesirable, even if practicable. Secondly, that, with belief in the supernatural unmistakably on the wane in all civilized countries, to solicit the aid of religious teachers and thus to make supernaturalism the basis of ethics would be a mistake. And, thirdly, that to adopt any one of the philosophic systems of the West, such as Comtism or Utilitarianism, for instance, would be decidedly invidious, and would be going further than the existing state of scientific ethical inquiry warranted. To Viscount Mori, as to many others, it seemed that no existing system of ethics can be pronounced entirely satisfactory ; that no system can claim to be authoritative

to the exclusion of all others. For this is what the adoption of a system by a State Department would mean to the rising generation. To such the use of a class-book which, for instance, was essentially Utilitarian, would be regarded in the same light as the use of scientific class-books in which the doctrine of evolution constitutes the predominant principle. The conviction would follow that in the opinion of the Department the one principle was as unimpeachable as the other. This Viscount Mori was specially anxious to avoid. Then, on the other hand, it seemed to the late Minister that Occidental philosophical systems of ethics were beyond the comprehension of ordinary Japanese students, that they demanded a knowledge of Western psychology, metaphysics and logic which few Japanese possess. Consequently Viscount Mori came to the conclusion that, objectionable from some points of view as the course seemed to be, the only feasible plan was to set about the preparation of a Treatise on Ethics, the chief object and characteristic of which should be, not exhaustiveness, but wide applicability and thorough harmony with the spirit of modern times; a treatise which should aim at embodying all that was valuable in the Chinese systems of morals,* while placing ethical teaching on a broader and more solid basis than that on which it had hitherto rested in this country.

Viscount Mori was thoroughly qualified to superintend the compilation of a work of this kind. As a young man he had been a diligent student of the Chinese classics, and later in life he had turned his whole attention to the ethical theories propounded and followed in Europe and America. He had among his Japanese and foreign acquaintances men who held widely divergent opinions on the subject. These he took great pains to consult. He corresponded with numerous American professors and authors and got to know their views as to the way in which ethical systems work in the Western world.

The text-book which was published as a result of six years of preparation was originally intended to be some 500 pages in

* This object the book published did not fulfil.

length. But Viscount Mori found that in order to insure agreement among those engaged in compiling the work, it had to be made general and to avoid the treatment of controversial questions, and so the manuscript was cut down so as to cover only 100 pages. As this book was used for some years and was regarded for a while as an embodiment of the Mombushō Ethical Gospel, a few words about its contents and character may not be out of place here. The work is divided into five chapters. The subjects treated, as stated in the Table of Contents, are as follows:— Chap. I. *Introduction*; Chap. II. *The End in View*; Chap. III. *Incentives to Action*, (1) Sensual appetite, (2) Desire, (3) Emotion, (4) Association, (5) Habit; Chap. IV. *The Will*, (1) Explanation of the meaning of the term, (2) Involuntary actions, (3) The relation of the Will to other powers, (4) The proper use of the Will, (5) The freedom of the Will; Chap. V. *The Standard of Conduct*, (1) The meaning of the term, (2) The co-ordination or co-equality of Egoism and Altruism 自他并立, *jita-heiriten*), (3) This standard considered from (a) a sociological point of view, (b) a rational standpoint and (c) from the point of view of general feeling.

This work declares the ultimate end of man to be conformity to reason and perfection, and the standard of conduct to be followed in endeavouring to attain to this end is said to be the co-ordination of the *ego* and the *alter*. Readers of Mr. Spencer's *Data of Ethics* will remember how clearly he shows that pure egoism and pure altruism are alike illegitimate; that the maxim "Live for Self" and the maxim "Live for Others" are both wrong; that a compromise is the only practicable course. Viscount Mori was an intimate friend and a great admirer of Herbert Spencer, and I have the best authority for stating that the Standard of Ethics adopted by the late Minister of Education was intended to be in entire accordance with Spencerian principles. Consequently I am not inclined to attach too much importance to the Chinese term *jita-heiriten*. Spencer distinctly says that while egoism and altruism are to a large extent interdependent there are times when they are in direct opposition to each other, when one or the other has to be exclusively followed.

At such times to assert their cōequality and make this cōequality a standard of conduct would be impossible. Hence the term cōequality can not be interpreted strictly. The discussion on altruism and egoism is thus summed up on p. 82 of the Treatise I am reviewing. "It is the relation of the *ego* to the *non-ego* that has brought the ethical world into existence, and in proportion to the degree of nicety with which this relationship is adjusted do nations make moral progress."

It will be seen, then, that the standard determined on is practically utilitarian in character. The highest interests of mankind constitute the Ultimate End, and this end is to be reached by the maintenance of the mutual relationship of the individual and society on lines that yield the largest amount of attainable happiness to each. This is the essence of Utilitarianism, and this was the main principle of the Mombushō Ethics in Mori's time and for some years subsequent to his assassination (February 11th, 1889).

I must confess that to me such a standard appears to be far too abstract and philosophical for the use of ordinary men and women. When we come to think of the numerous issues attending actions whereby others are affected, and whereby the agent himself is essentially injured or benefited, we must perceive that none but the most practised ethical mathematician could ever cast up an egoistic and altruistic sum so as to show clearly where the balance lies. The items are so numerous and the nicety of judgment required for deciding to which side each of the multifarious acts is to be credited so rarely found, that the most sanguine can hardly expect such a standard to come into general use.

As might have been expected, Mori's treatise was severely criticised in some quarters. It was too Western in method and doctrine to please conservative thinkers, but the respect felt for the late Viscount, and the fact that the treatise filled a gap and that it breathed a very earnest and scientific tone throughout, rendered it popular for a while.* The most important parts of

* It is important to observe that Mori's book contains no endorsement of the Confucian system of morals. It is practically quite ignored, as the Table of Contents shows.

ethical treatises are their practical parts. Of these the little treatise I have briefly reviewed has an abundance. As philosophical questions, the discussion of Ultimate Ends and Standards is doubtless interesting enough, but, happily, moral progress is not dependent on the settlement of such questions. Among the concluding remarks of the late Sir Leslie Stephen's treatise on *The Science of Ethics* (1882) we find the following:—"What science proves according to me, is precisely that the only basis of morality is the old basis; it shows that one and the same principle has always determined the development of morality, although it has been stated in different phraseology. And, moreover, this principle is not the suggestion of any end distinct from all others. The great forces which govern human conduct are the same that they always have been and always will be. The dread of hunger, thirst and cold, the desire to gratify the passions, the love of wife and child or friend; sympathy with the sufferings of our neighbours; resentment of injury inflicted upon ourselves—these and such as these are the great forces which govern mankind. When a moralist tries to assign anything else as an ultimate motive, he is getting beyond the world of reality..... My desire for the welfare of my race grows out of my desire for the welfare of my own intimates; and that exists independently of any ethical theory whatever." Is it not open to doubt whether all the long lectures addressed to students dealing with complicated ethical theories effect anything towards the improvement of morals? Is it not a fact that while there is a wide diversity of opinion whenever ethical theories are discussed, concerning vital questions of practical morality all civilised men and women are agreed. Whether the man who speaks the truth or the man who lies is to be esteemed; whether kindly feeling is not preferable to malice; whether the honest, plain-speaking man makes a better friend than the smooth-tongued, flattering, double-faced man; whether the man who maintains his family, helps his relations and is always ready to serve his country, is not better than the man who skulks out of all such duties, and the like,—these are questions on which there is no difference of opinion among enlightened people.

It would be incorrect to assert that during the past two decades the Department of Education has adopted any fixed ethical policy. The teaching of morals has been left to schoolmasters, and they have followed the bent of their own minds, some inclining most to Confucianism and others to Occidental ethical theories of one kind or another, the result being that to-day the moral notions of High School and University students are in a very confused state. It is now sought to remedy this by reverting to the old Confucian system of morals, but the opposition to this course, open and concealed, is very strong, and not a few Japanese authorities on the subject are of opinion that the ethical clock can not be put back, that the spirit of the times is against reversion to the pre-Meiji system of morality.

ETHICS AS TAUGHT IN PRIVATE SCHOOLS.

It must never be overlooked that each private school in the country teaches morals in whatever way commends itself to the Director of this school. Neither the Keiōgijuku nor the Waseda School follows in the wake of the State schools in respect to the moral instruction imparted. Mr. Fukuzawa propounded a system of ethics of his own, which in February, 1900, was given to the world in the form of 29 moral precepts. A full account of Mr. Fukuzawa's system of Ethics will be found in "*A Life of Mr. Yukichi Fukuzawa* by Mr. Miyamori Asataro: Revised by Professor E. H. Vickers." (Maruya, 1902). In Appendix B of that book will be found an article of mine which originally appeared in the *Japan Weekly Mail* of June 23rd, 1900, entitled *The Mita System of Ethics and Its Detractors*. The Mita System of Ethics is based on independence and self-respect. Mr. Fukuzawa turned ethical discussion away from barren theories about abstract standards and centred it on practical life. He appealed to common sense, and results have proved that he could not have appealed to anything better. Throughout his whole career Mr. Fukuzawa was strongly opposed to the retention of the Confucian system of morals. Writing in the *Jiji Shimpō* in March, 1898, on the effects of Confucianism in China and Japan, he observed:—

"China's present troubles are largely owing to her bigoted adherence to the teaching of her sages, the essence of whose doctrines is submission to the powers that be without questioning the right of these powers to claim homage. The history of China goes to prove that the men who have succeeded have done so in spite of Confucianism and by the adoption of the courses it condemns. And yet in the face of this and of China's steady decline, there are people in Japan who do nothing but preach loyalty and filial piety. These virtues are all very well in their place, but in this advanced age to suppose that a country can maintain its prestige in the world while its inhabitants simply bow to the wills of their superiors is utterly absurd. Our position at this moment depends chiefly, not on the Confucianism we borrowed from China, but on the ideas we have received from Europe and America. There is no such lever to lift Eastern nations out of the sloughs into which they have fallen as Western learning, and the Japanese who, failing to see this, preach Confucianism afresh at the end of the nineteenth century, as was done some eight or nine years ago, are retarding the progress of the nation. *Confucian ideas must be eradicated from our minds, and we must become Occidentalized to the heart's core.*"

The ethical teaching at Count Okuma's school has always been Western in type, with individualism as a central principle and science as a constant guide. The Waseda Semmon Gakkō has never tabooed any kind of ethical teaching, Christian, Buddhist, Confucian, or Utilitarian. The institution is anti-dogmatic in respect to morality and religion. In the pages of the *Waseda Bungaku* the advocates of rival systems of ethics fight out their battles from year to year for the benefit of the hundreds of students who peruse the magazine.

It goes without saying that Christian schools all over the country are doing much to guide young men and young women into the paths that the instructors employed in these schools deem to be the only safe ones. The influence of the ethical teaching carried on at all the various private schools throughout Japan must be very considerable, and it is true to say that this teaching is almost exclusively Occidental in character. But it

would be a mistake to think that most of the graduates at the Imperial Universities are of a conservative turn of mind in respect to ethical standards and canons. They have been greatly influenced by the foreign text-books they have perused and by the lectures thereon to which they have listened, and also by the discussions perpetually carried on in the newspapers and magazines to which they have free access. But this only applies to a small number of University graduates. The majority of them take no interest at all in ethical, religious, or philosophic discussion.

The most important modern work on Japanese traditional morality is Mr. Sawayanagi's *Kōdō* (Filial Piety) published in 1910. A lengthy review of this book appeared in the *Japan Weekly Mail* of February 18th, 1911. The work is rightly regarded as the best presentation of the Confucian system of ethics that has appeared in the Meiji era. It covers no less than 1,765 large-sized pages. It is said that every Middle school in the country has been supplied with a copy.

THE DECLINE OF SUPERNATURALISM AMONG CHRISTIANS.

If the analysis of the Japanese mind given above is correct, it naturally follows that supernaturalism would tend to constitute an obstacle to the progress of Christianity among the majority of educated men and that hence strong attempts would be made to get rid of it. As the result of an enormous amount of reading, I am in a position to say that among a very large number of Protestant Christians, this is just what has happened. I will allow an orthodox Christian who deplores the turn things began to take more than twenty years ago to tell us what has occurred. The Rev. H. Kozaki, one of the leading pastors of the Kumiai Kyōkai (Congregational), writing in the *Shin Seiki* in May, 1898, on *Changes in the Theological Views of Japanese Christians*, in effect expressed himself thus:—"There is no denying that the theological notions entertained by Japanese are minutely connected with their Christian life, and that lack of zeal is in many cases to be traced to an entire change of belief as

to the real nature of Christianity. In accounting for the revolution in thought that has taken place, the first factor that calls for notice is the publication of Mr. Kanamori Tsūrin's treatise in 1891, entitled *Nihon Genkon no Kirisutokyō narabi ni Shōrai no Kirisutokyō* (The Japanese Christianity of the Present and the Christianity of the Future). This book stripped Christianity of its supernaturalism. It denied miracles, the Divinity of Christ, and the Atonement. Before the date of the appearance of this remarkable declaration of unbelief, there were doubtless members of the Christian Church who held the same views as those of Mr. Kanamori, but not one of them had the courage of his convictions, and nobody was equal to the task of preparing such a clear enunciation of the new tenets as was drawn up by this scholar. Among those who traversed Mr. Kanamori's views was Mr. Yokoi Tokio,* who three years later championed much more extreme views than those defended by Mr. Kanamori. Mr. Yokoi's *Waga Kuni no Kirisutokyō Mondai* (Questions connected with our Japanese Christianity) cut away all the dogmatic doctrinal foundation of Christianity and reduced the creed to a system of ethics. The reason that these attacks on the orthodox faith produced so wide-spread an effect was because the theological notions entertained by the majority of our Japanese Christians were of the vaguest kind. Intellectually their faith had no foundation, and hence it was easily overthrown. The orthodox belief as received and understood by the mass of Japanese Christians was bound to be undermined by science and criticism. The missions that figured most conspicuously in the work of destruction were the German Protestants and the Unitarians. The former commenced work in Japan in 1855. Their organ the *Shinri* was started in 1890. The Unitarians began work here in 1859, and the first number of their magazine the *Shūkyō* was published in 1891.

"The national movement of which so much has been heard of late has all been in favour of placing Japanese Christianity

* Once President of the Dōshisha, recently involved in the Sugar scandals.

on an independent footing and freeing it from all the restrictions placed on it by foreign creeds and formularies and hence has incidentally helped the cause of free thought. In my opinion it is quite natural that the types of theology found in various countries should differ. Theology should to a certain extent be moulded so as to suit national customs and peculiarities. But what I regret is that hitherto there has been with us too much destruction and too little construction. . . . The self-assertion of the rationalists has made itself felt in all directions, in some cases resulting in the extinction of all Christian belief. In some quarters orthodox teaching is not even tolerated. To give an example, in 1888, I was one of those who expounded Christianity at the Dōshisha Summer School. When I taught that the Bible was inspired, I was informed that such a doctrine robbed the Bible of its glory (*Bible no ikō no otoshite*) and destroyed the foundation of faith. My discourse on this subject was omitted from the record of the Proceedings of the school. . . . From very early days I was never a strong believer in the infallibility of the Bible. Hence when this doctrine was shown to be no longer tenable, my belief in Christianity was not seriously affected thereby. Though I sympathise with those who show the irrationality of some parts of the old orthodox creed, I differ from the free-thinking party in the Christian Church, in that I still retain my faith in the personality of God, in a special Revelation, in the Divinity of Christ and the reality of his salvation. In teaching I follow the lead of the progressive theologians, believing that in both ethics and religion a process of evolution is at work."

Notwithstanding the rapid growth of free thought among Christians, the orthodox churches still have a big following in this country. The great majority of Christians are uneducated people and on them appeals to reason and logic have no effect. Owing to the Japanese love of reticence and their reserved ways in the presence of foreigners, it is very hard for any missionary to find out what are the actual convictions of his converts. What the proportion of sincere believers is to the registered Christian converts it is hard to say. In May, 1898, the editor of the *Seikyō Shimpō*, the Greek Church organ, made the following statement:

"The number of Greek Church Christians to-day is put down at 23,500. We doubt whether even one-third of that number are real Christians."

My discussion of Religion and Ethics has necessarily been somewhat sketchy. To quote Japanese opinion at any great length would have occupied too much space. I have only aimed at indicating what is the general tendency of thought on these topics. Many will doubtless take exception to much that I have said on religion and ethics. But I have no axe to grind in this matter. My only desire has been to lay bare incontrovertible facts and to draw such inferences from them as logic warrants. For the past eighteen years I have kept a very close watch on the articles that have appeared in a large number of religious periodicals, and have reproduced in English for publication in the columns of the *Japan Mail* some hundreds of these essays, besides reviewing learned works on religion and ethics written by Japanese. So I am in a fair position to know what views are held on these subjects by leaders of thought in this country.

The chief object I have had in view in writing this essay on Japanese Modern Literature has been to throw light on the working of the Japanese mind. It is universally admitted that the Japanese are a difficult people to understand. Their ways are not our ways nor their thoughts our thoughts. I say this in no spirit of pride. I do not hold the theory that Occidentals are invariably superior to Orientals. I think that the best types of Japanese manhood and our best types are very much alike in the things that are most essential. But in tastes we differ from them and few of their pleasures are really enjoyable to us. Though we try our best to look interested when they lay themselves out to amuse us, most of us feel as bored as they no doubt do when entertained by us. I am not of course speaking now of the thoroughly Occidentalized Japanese who are to be found in America, Hawaii and Europe as well as at the open ports in this country, but of those Japanese who only very occasionally come into close contact with Europeans or Americans.

In this brief review of Japanese literature there are many subjects that I have left undiscussed; such, for example, as

Japanese mental characteristics, Japanese humour, Japanese oratory, Japanese customs, and Japanese family life. On all these topics I have commented freely in years gone by in various newspapers and magazines. To have discussed them in this paper would perhaps have tired the patience of readers too much.

On all the numerous subjects treated I have endeavoured to be fair to all parties. In the progress and development of the nation I am deeply interested, and throughout a long career in this country on the platform and in the press I have spoken out boldly against what I consider to be great hindrances to national development, and I have invariably found that all the better class of Japanese appreciate honest criticism and take hard hits kindly when they are persuaded that he who gives them is a true friend of the nation. My view is that if the Japanese have much to learn from us, we also have much to learn from them. If we study each other's systems of thought in a thoroughly sympathetic and docile spirit, the benefit derived will certainly not be all on one side.

THE END.

Owing to the serious illness of the author he was unable to give personal attention to the final revision of these papers. If orthographic or other mistakes have been allowed to pass unnoticed by the Publications Committee, the members of the Society will kindly bear in mind the somewhat painful circumstances under which the papers have been published.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

THE ELEMENTS OF SŌSHO. By Captain F. S. G. Piggott, R. E. Yokohama, Kelly and Walsh., Ltd. 1913.

Captain Piggott has laid all advanced students of Japanese under a debt of gratitude. The Japanese cursive script is perhaps the hardest subject which it is given to mortal man to tackle. Those whom circumstances force to grapple with it feel like convicts condemned to hard labor in a Siberian mine. Nothing can turn their misery into joy; toil on they must, one weary week and month and year after another, with scarce any hope. But Captain Piggott's volume, the result of his own laborious days, at any rate now sheds a ray of light upon their gloom. They will stumble a little less henceforth, make fewer false movements, even sometimes feel a sort of enthusiasm for their never-ending task.

Captain Piggott was, we believe, born in Japan, or spent there the years of his early boyhood. The circumstances of having been thus plunged into a Japanese atmosphere at the most impressionable age probably predisposed him for successfully treating his subject. It was fortunate also for him and for his readers that he was able to secure the collaboration of Mr. Nakajima, writing-master to His Majesty the present Emperor. The specimens of this gentleman's calligraphy proposed to the imitation of students are among the most beautiful we have ever seen; they afford a real esthetic pleasure to the eye. Mr. Nakajima's style of writing is excellent, likewise, owing to a certain quality of moderation, if we may so term it. We mean that it is not too fantastically cursive, like that of some

much admired calligraphists who seem to take the law into their own hands, and whose vagaries it would be neither desirable nor possible for students to copy. It is a norm such as is presented here that the learner must ever place before him, though neither should he neglect to keep and often read through all the letters in various hand-writings, good and bad, that he receives. What in fact, is the chief object of all his efforts? Is it not to be able to read correspondence without native help? ■ he can also get to write passably, so much the better.

The subject and scope of Captain Piggott's book preclude a detailed review; for that could consist in but transcribing lists of Chinese characters, and entering into descriptions of the various ways in which these are abridged for the purpose of cursive writing. Such technical minutiae would evidently be irksome, even incomprehensible, to the general reader. We would therefore only add that if a second edition of this work is called for, an essay on the origin and varieties of the Japanese (Chinese) cursive hand would form an interesting appendix. Is it a fact that this cursive or "grass" hand was formed, not from the square character now predominant, but from the ancient seal character? Can any line be drawn between *gyōshō* and *sōshō*? Why did the cursive writing take deeper root in Japan than in China? Is there any logical development in the succession of its various styles through the ages? How ■ calligraphy now taught in the Japanese schools, etc., etc? It would also be interesting and instructive to have before one, in Mr. Nakajima's beautiful writing, a few pages of connected text instancing the normal intermixture of ideographic characters and *Kana*, especially in regard to the question of the relative size of each.

But the author may deem that, having already received so much, it is greedy of us to ask for more. In any case, all serious students of Japanese will recognize the exceptional merit of his book, and wish for it as wide a circulation as the abstruseness of the subject-matter permits.

B. H. CHAMBERLAIN.

PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE ANNUAL MEETING.

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The Annual General Meeting of the Society was held at the Society's rooms at the Keiōgijuku on December 11, 1912. After reading the Treasurer's Report to Council, and the Council's Report to the Society, the officers for the ensuing year (1913) were elected. The result of the ballot was as follows:—

President	John Carey Hall, Esq., C.M.G., I. S. O.
Vice-Presidents	{ The Rev. Clay MacCauley, D. D. R. J. Kirby, Esq.
Corresponding Secretary ..	Professor W. W. McLaren, Ph. D.
Recording Secretaries	{ G. B. Sansom, Esq. N. G. Munro, Esq., M. D.
Treasurer	J. Struthers, Esq., M.A., B. Sc.
Librarian	E. W. Clement, Esq., M. A.

MEMBERS OF COUNCIL.

Professor M. Anesaki.
The Rev. J. Dahmann, S. J.
The Rev. D. C. Greene, D. D.
The Rev. E. B. Miller, M. A.
Professor F. P. Purvis, M. Inst. C. E.
Professor J. T. Swift, M. A.
Gilbert Bowles, Esq.
The Rev. J. L. Deering, D. D.
J. N. Seymour, Esq., B. A., M. B.
W. E. L. Sweet, Esq.

The Rev. Dr. Greene then read extracts from a paper on the *Lays of Takano Okei*, after which the meeting was adjourned.

PROCEEDINGS HONORARY TREASURER'S REPORT.

To the President of
THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

Sir,

I beg to report that the Accounts of the Society for the year ending November 30th, 1912, are as follows:—

RECEIPTS.

To Balance brought forward December 1st 1911	Yen	2458.94
" Membership			
Annual subscriptions	896.00		
Arrears paid up	139.00		
Life subscriptions	310.00		
Thirty-year "	60.00		
Entrance fees	145.00		1550.00
" Transactions sold			774.15
" Murdoch's History Vol. I. sold			913.29
" Interest			97.04
" Exchange			1.71
" Lieut Brylinski			8.00
		Yen	<u>5800.13</u>

EXPENDITURES.

By Corresponding Secretary's petties	Yen	15.16
" Recording Secretary's petties	"	29.83
" Treasurer's petties	39.44		
" assistant	100.00		139.44
" Library: Books	125.00		
Insurance	75.00		
Furniture	299.00		
Removal expenses	18.60		
Librarian's petties	29.00		
" assistant	292.00		629.60
" Transactions printed	522.40		
" Posting to members			
" and insurance	114.14		636.54
" Constitution etc.—printed			80.00
" Murdoch's History, royalties			1403.00
" Lectures			125.00
" Research			120.00
" Rent			133.00
" Exchange			.29
" Lieut Brylinski			8.00
" Bank balances			1822.37
" Cheque on hand			250.91
		Yen	<u>5800.13</u>

These accounts for the past year may be reduced to a more compact form and compared with the four preceding years as follows:—

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COMPARATIVE SUMMARY OF ACCOUNTS.

1908 — 1912.

RECEIPTS	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.	1912.
To Memberships	1091.82	1244.81	1354.78	1338.10	1850.00
" Transactions sold	691.63	927.41	603.46	646.48	774.15
" Murdoch's History sold			669.25	839.60	913.29
" Interest & Sundries	116.68	208.12	134.32	40.90	103.75
Total	1900.83	2380.34	3261.81	2864.08	3341.19
Bal. Brought Forward	2411.2.	3376.98	3598.16	1354.21	2468.94
	4310.04	5757.02	6859.97	4018.29	5800.13
EXPENDITURES					
By Transactions published..	221.70	1387.34	2279.21	485.75	716.54
" Murdoch's History			2568.70	509.18	1603.00
" Library	429.00	240.18	144.00	50.00	782.00
" Lectures		15.00			245.00
" Administration	124.86	216.62	200.85	207.42	213.42
" Rent & Sundries	167.60	349.32	315.00	305.05	155.89
Total	933.06	2158.06	5505.76	1357.35	3718.85
Bal. Carried Forward	3376.98	3598.16	1354.21	2468.94	2093.28
	4310.04	5757.02	6859.97	4018.29	5800.13

Two items in the account for 1912 call for a word of explanation. First the unusually large sum of Yen 782. expended on the Library; this in part should be credited to 1911, when the disbursements were made by the then Hon. Librarian the late Prof. Lloyd but owing to his illness were not reported to the Council till 1912. Secondly the item of Yen 1603 paid as author's royalties on Murdoch's History Vol. I. This is of the nature of an advanced payment of the royalties on the entire unsold stock of the History, and has been made by the Society to help forward the completion and early publication of Volume III, the final volume of Professor Murdoch's valuable work.

No recent report of the Society's stock of Transactions has been received from the agents; but estimating this item on the basis of last year's figures as affected by the sales and publications in 1912, the value of the property of the Society is as follows:—

Balance on hand and in banks	2093.28
Murdoch's History Vol. I,	
500 copies unbound } at cost price	1340.75
114 " bound }	
Transactions (estimated)	2094.07
Library at insured value	5000.00
	Yen 20,084.20

With regard to the membership of the Society, there have been recorded during the year 5 deaths, 16 resignations, and 6 have been dropped for non-payment of fees, making a total loss of 26.

Against these losses there have been 37 new members elected, making a net gain of 11. The membership by classes is as follows:—

Honorary Members ..	6
Life Members	156
Ordinary Members	249
Total	411

Respectfully Submitted,

J. T. SWIFT, Hon. Treasurer.

PROCEEDINGS

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

The following is a brief account of the work of the Society during the past year:—

Ten general meetings were held during the year, of which the titles are given below.

- February 14. .. "Extracts from the late Professor Motoda's Confucian Lectures given at the Imperial Palace." A Translation and Notes: by the Rev. J. C. Pringle.
- March 18. "Buddhist Gold Nuggets." A Lecture by the Rev. A. K. Reischauer.
- March 19. "Recent Discoveries on the Site of Meroe, the ancient Capital of Ethiopia." Lecture by Dr. Sayce, Professor of Assyriology at Oxford.
- April 11. "Parallels in the Religious Evolution of the East and West." Lecture by Professor Dr. Otto, of the University of Göttingen.
- May 19. "Buddhist Ethics and Morality." A Paper by Professor Anesaki.
- June 10. Lecture, with Lantern Views, on the Japanese Alps, by the Rev. W. Weston.
- June 19. Two Essays by Dazai Jun; On "Divination" and "Doing Nothing." Paper by Mr. R. J. Kirby.
- October 23. "The Tokugawa Digest of Customary Law." A Paper by Mr. J. C. Hall, C. M. G., I. S. O.
- November 18. "Studies in Japanese Agriculture, Part I." First paper of a series by Mr. J. Struthers, M. A., B. Sc.
- December 11. "The Life of Takano Choei." A Translation, with Notes and an Introduction, by the Rev. D. C. Greene, D. D.

A particular feature of the year was provided by the two public lectures, under the auspices of the Society, delivered by Professors Sayce and Otto, both scholars of European reputation. The attendance of both members and non-members on these occasions was gratifyingly large, and encourages the Society to continue this form of activity should occasion offer.

Council meetings have been regularly held, and, apart from the routine work of the Society, the following matters have come before the Council's notice during the past session.

(1) The reprint of volumes X. 2, XI. 1, and 2, XIII. 1, and XXIII. was decided on and is now in hand.

(2) A sub-committee was at some pains to solve the question of housing the Society and its library, the former quarters having never been satisfactory; and their efforts resulted in the transfer of the books to specially reserved stacks in the Library of the Keio University, a fireproof building, and the conclusion of an agreement with the University authorities by which rooms were courteously placed at the Society's disposal for Council and General Meetings. This arrangement has been in force for some two months, and has proved satisfactory.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

With regard to the Library, it should be added that a card catalogue is now available, and that chairs, tables, and writing materials being provided, members are able to consult the Society's works of reference in comfort.

(3) The Society lost by death in 1912 two of its most prominent members—Dr. Edward Divers and Dr. George William Knox. Minutes regarding the deceased members were placed in the records of the Society, and copies thereof sent to their families and to the press.

(4) Thirty-seven persons have become members during the session. fifteen have resigned, and six names have been struck off the list, their addresses being unknown, or for other reasons.

(5) The Society has offered to cooperate in the work of transcribing and editing certain unpublished manuscripts in the *Bibliothèque de Ajuda, Lisbon*, which bear upon the early relations between Japan and Southern Europe, and are thought to be of no small historical importance.

(6) The Society has arranged with Professor McLaren for the publication in the *Transactions* of a Collection of Political Documents of the Meiji Era, the Society furnishing part of the funds for the necessary research.

(7) The Society, with the object of assisting Mr. Murdoch in further research, and at the same time of making his historical work as widely known as possible, have acquired from him the complete rights of property in the first edition of Volume I, of his "*History of Japan*," and are sparing no efforts in extending its sale.

It will be seen from the above account that the session may on the whole be described as satisfactory, and that the Society continues to do useful work in the way of the publication of original papers and the encouragement of research. In conclusion, the Council would point out that the usefulness of the Society would be much increased if it received fuller support from its members in such directions for example as the provision of translations or resumes of Japanese works of any period and on almost any subject. The field thus open is wide, and valuable service can be rendered even by those who for any reason are unable to devote themselves to original investigation.

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